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Inter-America

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE



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From a pamphlet published at Quito, Ecuador

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NUMBER I

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE purpose of INTER-AMERICA is to contribute to the establishment of a community of ideas between all the peoples of America by aiding to overcome the barrier of language, which hitherto has kept them apart. It is issued alternately, one month in Spanish, made up of diversified articles translated from the periodical literature of the United States, and the next month in English, composed of similar articles translated from the periodical literature of the American countries of Spanish or Portuguese speech.

INTER-AMERICA thus serves as a vehicle for the international dissemination of articles already circulated in the several countries. It therefore does not publish original articles, nor make editorial comment. It merely translates what has been previously published, without approving or censuring, in order that the reading public of all the American countries may have access to ideas current in each of them.

INTER-AMERICA is established at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, one of whose objects is to cultivate friendly feelings between the inhabitants of different countries, and to increase the knowledge and understanding of each other by the several nations.

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¹ Other distinguished gentlemen have been invited to serve on this committee, but their acceptances have not yet been received.

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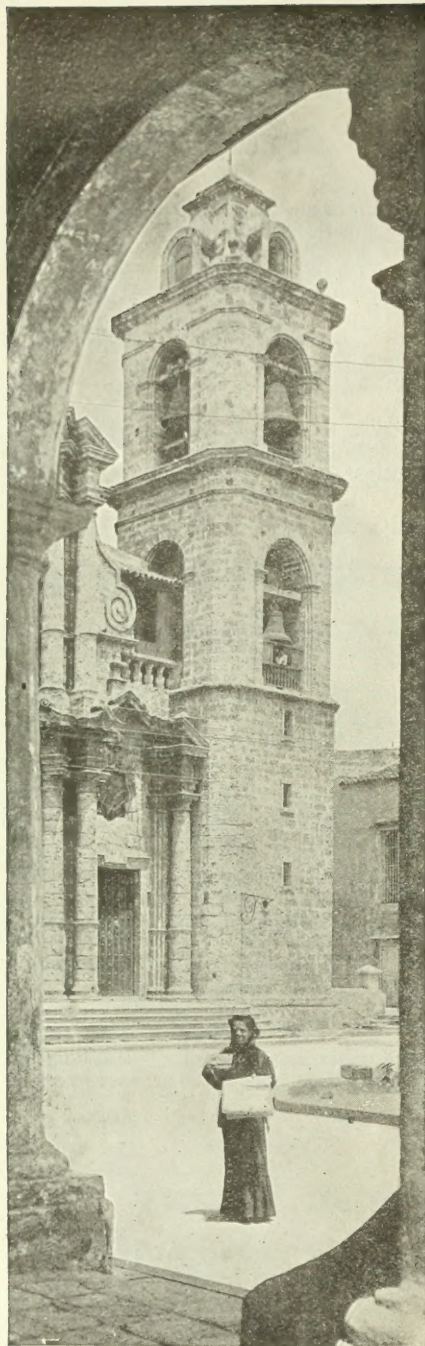
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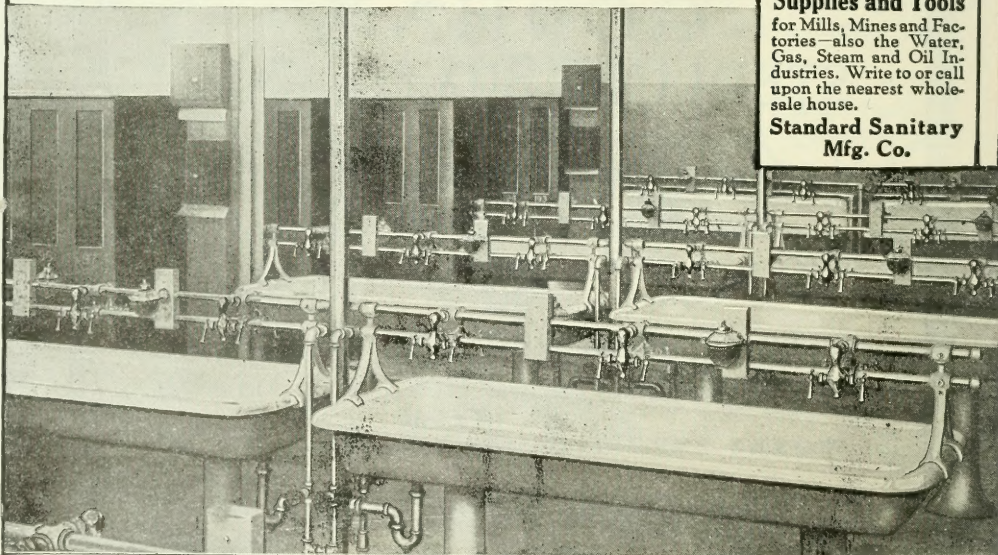
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BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

REGARDING THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES THAT APPEAR IN THIS NUMBER

HARMODIO ARIAS is a prominent lawyer of Panamá.

ALBERTO MACKENNA SUBERCASSEAU is a Chilean who has devoted much time to patriotic and benevolent enterprises, serving as a director in numerous educational, civic and philanthropic institutions; he is the president of the Sociedad pro Estudiantes Chilenos en el Extranjero; and he has contributed to the press many articles upon literary, sociological and educational subjects.

GREGORIO TORRES QUINTERO is a Mexican educator and man of letters; he is the head of the Department of Public Education in the state of Yucatán; during 1917 he spent a number of months traveling in the United States and studying the educational system and institutions of the country; he is the author of *La patria mexicana* (1912); *Una familia de héroes* (1916); and of numerous poems.

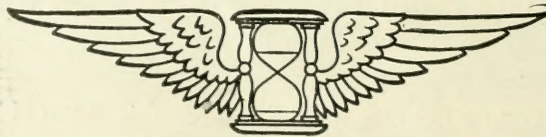
CLEMENTE ONELLI is the director of the Jardín Zoológico of Buenos Aires; his studies have not been limited to natural science only, but have extended into the realm of history, and particularly into that of the Argentine colonial period; his *Alfombras, tapices i tejidos criollos*, pub-

lished in 1916, with colored illustrations, is an interesting monograph.

MIGUEL DE ZÁRRAGA was born in Madrid, Spain; from his youth he has devoted himself to literature and journalism, serving as editor of *El Imparcial* and of *A B C*, of Madrid; he has served as a special envoy of his government in Paris, London and the United States; he is the director of *La Revista del Mundo* of New York (the Spanish edition of *The World's Work*), and a correspondent of newspapers in Buenos Aires and Habana; he is the author of a number of novels, several tragedies and comedies and many short stories.

MANUEL ELICIO FLOR T. received his diploma from the Facultad de Jurisprudencia de la Universidad Central de Quito, Ecuador, in 1916, and his thesis, which appears in this number of INTER-AMERICA, was approved for publication in *Los Anales* of the university, but, because of some delay, the author issued it as a pamphlet.

We regret that, owing to the difficulty of international communications, it has not been possible to secure full data regarding some of the above authors, or any data regarding the other authors whose articles appear in this number.



PRESIDENT WILSON AND PAN AMERICAN IDEALS

The following is an editorial utterance of one of the great newspapers of South America. Not often, during the painful years of the present war, have the principles involved in the struggle been so clearly discerned and stated, or the ideals of the United States and the leadership of President Wilson more discriminatingly and appreciatively apprehended and set forth, than in this article, suggested by the words addressed by the President to the Mexican journalists during the reception recently given them at the White House.—THE EDITOR.

THE utilitarian school laid down the doctrine, and only a short time ago this doctrine was the dogma of the world—without overlooking the fact that it still continues to be that of certain laggard minds, which are never wanting—that self-interest is what unites men.

In reality, much penetration is not needed to understand that self-interest is exactly what separates them. What unites them is love: which, like the old Platonic doctrine, always implies an ideal; for without an ideal, love can not exist, since only in the same aspiration, in the same regard for the same object can wills be fused and interests and individualisms be forgotten.

In spite of this, and as we were saying, the classic formula of political economy: *do ut des, facio ut facies, do ut facies, facio ut des*, has been and will continue to be still, for a long time, to many, the indisputable mathematical key to relations between men. Thus have people been taught by the purely biological criterion that, under the influence of Darwinism, was introduced into sociology, in attempting to explain social relations by means of rules valid only for the merely animal and individual related life. The nations continue to accept the sophism as if it were a scientific truth.

According to this school, biological strife, the struggle for existence, is also a sociological law; as if the term society did not immediately imply restriction of individual appetites, the subordination of the individual to the whole; and as if all societies—from the most primitive, such as that of the insects—were not based upon abnegation and sacrifice, which exactly corresponds to the classic

concept of the hero, the synonym of the patriot.

For such persons, it has been in vain that thinkers like Ruskin (in *Unto This Last*) demonstrated to them that the individual law of the struggle for life, with the egotism which is its psychic foundation, does not explain the existence of any human society. Upon it can not be based the family, which is the most elementary society, since without love, without abnegation, the family would be impossible. If self-interest, synthesized in the classic Latin formula already cited, were truly the supreme promoter of relations between human beings and even among the superior animals, since they too attempt a collective life, not even thus would the relations of adults with their offspring be explicable. The mother, because she is the stronger, would take possession of the portion of food intended for her children, or would devour the children themselves, and thus would have been rendered impossible the advent of any superior biological type—which is superior in proportion, precisely, to its victories over egotism.

Considering systematically the dynamism of evil passions, and omitting from consideration the effective force of the generous passions—love, pity, sympathy—this school succeeded thus in creating the moral and intellectual environment that is the principal one responsible for the present state of things. Deifying selfishness, it produced that state of struggle and distrust which, for the last fifty years, armed individual against individual, class against class, nation against nation—in a systematic rage without precedent in history—until the present war was unchained upon the world.

This, on the other hand, as was set forth recently by the English sociologist Benjamin Kidd, is nothing more than a mere episode in a general situation of which the anarchist bombs, the revolutionary strikes, the pressure of the great capitalist syndicates, the formidable and brazen diplomatic intrigues, the armed peace and the cruel enterprises of colonial expansion but serve as sufficiently expressive exponents: an endemic state of social war without quarter, which only a shocking world war could liquidate.

Nevertheless, when the present conflagration broke out, although it had as its immediate cause the attitude of Russia in not permitting Serbia to be crushed, and that of Great Britain, in not coldly consenting to the violation of Belgian territory, the peoples at strife did not take into immediate account that they must enter the war solely for an ideal.

There were pronounced, it is true, and immediately, the sonorous names of "liberty" and "law," but the chancelleries continued to shuffle the combinations, as before, of the interests of territorial expansion and commercial domination. Diplomacy, placed in the hands of empirics did not seem to consider that we were at the dawn of a state of things which means a change of orientation and objectives, a change of social values, lest the causes that originated the conflict should perpetuate themselves and give place to a renewal of future conflicts—each day more frightful and formidable.

The honor of having fully comprehended the situation, and of having formulated it with clearness, belongs to President Wilson, when he affirmed and proved solemnly before the world that the United States is intervening in the conflict in order to assure to men a state of things in which such conflicts shall be impossible—not in order to obtain for his country material advantages of any kind whatsoever. Briefly, in arousing among his fellow-citizens the wave of applause—proofs of which may be found in the success of the war loans, the voluntary enlistment in the army, the sanction—unanimously voted—of the law of conscription, in order to meet the issue of the present struggle,

and the enormous contributions that flow in to satisfy the painful needs which the struggle imposes—President Wilson had also the merit of making it seen, as we said at the beginning, that, if self-interests separate, an ideal unites. Well then; these ideals that kindle the people of the United States to enthusiasm and cause them to move as a single man, have also the virtue of uniting the feeling of all the peoples and of all the thoughtful individuals who have no direct and personal interest in the present conflict.

The private interests of certain of the peoples at war, even though they be as noble as those of Alsace and Lorraine, of Trent and Trieste, may awaken an echo of sympathy in many, but they will never elicit a movement of enthusiasm from all. They are French and Italian interests; they are not human interests. On the other hand, the cause of Belgium does arouse it, because it represents a general interest, that every nationality shall be autonomous, within a universal harmony. The case of Serbia provokes it—especially since, back of the fraternal Pan Slavist movement may not be suspected a movement of dynastic ambition in the part of the Russian autocracy. If these two interests are magnified, however; if they assume the ideal character of inevitable and inviolable bases for the future constitution of the society of nations, in which, as in each of the national societies, without prejudice to individual liberty, the particular interest is subordinated to a collective ideal, the union of all minds must be complete.

This unity, which unquestionably has been provoked by President Wilson in all hearts not warped by a point of view too narrow, too local, in judging the present war, corroborates what we have already affirmed. The true sociological forces are spiritual forces, just as the true inheritance, which fashions the unity of a people, is not the ethnic inheritance, which oftentimes does not exist, but the spiritual inheritance, which supplies a unity of culture, an ideal and a common ethics.

From the constitution of the most simple tribe, it has not been self-interest that has actuated. Selfishness would have induced

the Tobas¹ and the Matacos,¹ from the first encounter, to unite their efforts, if perchance social life were based upon self-interest. What unites is always a moral factor, however obscure it may appear in sociological phenomena of a primary character. All human societies are based upon a unity of love, in spite of the fact, that in relation to others, and, in virtue of the rule of Platonic dialectics that every "being" contains a "not being," which means its contrary, this unity of love may also be a unity of hate toward other different unities. At any rate, it is always a unity of tastes, a common way of looking at life, which, independently of the physical environment, unites or separates men: associating them in a single ideal, in the immensity of the Argentine pampas, or setting them in opposition, in the confinement of the Balkan valleys. To this moral factor, which causes a people to unite in a common worship, which is the awakening of the idea of the patria, all individual interests must be sacrificed, and, as a fact, they are sacrificed and subordinated. Individual interest ceases just where collective interest begins, and only periods of degeneration and decadence, of anarchy and social disintegration, give place to the fierce and remorseless individualism that we beheld before the breaking out of the present war.

With more frequent intercourse between men, and above all, with the greater intellectual and, particularly, with the greater moral development of these same men, local ideals changed into other, larger ideals—both in time and in space. This is the psycho-collective evolution of mankind, moving toward the realization of the idea of humanity, toward an ideal of collective perfection, which is exactly contrary to the retrograde and individualistic idea of the superman indicated by Nietzsche. There spring up thus, slowly, those cultures, those civilizations, that represent the common attitude of a group of men, greater every day, in respect of the universe and of life: Hellenic civilization, Mediterranean civilization, Christian civilization, Western civilization. The

civilizations that fuse, that broaden, as they absorb into themselves larger numbers of peoples and a larger measure, consequently, of the ideals of these same peoples, tend toward the ethnic unity of humanity: the supreme ideal, which, as an ideal, will unite all.

We are perhaps very far from this objective. The hierarchism of certain Asiatic civilizations, the inconsequence of the African populations, are so many more obstacles that will delay still longer in being removed. In this science too the world is a great debtor to President Wilson for an immense benefit, because, in giving a moral significance and an ideal orientation to the present war, he has succeeded in guiding the effort of a continent by proposing to it a joint action in a joint ideal.

Let us now refer to the new meaning of Pan Americanism that the president of the United States formulated a few days ago, in the course of a reception given to the Mexican journalists. Here are declarations which, if they have passed unobserved by some, ought to attract the attention of all, since, in pronouncing them, President Wilson has completed a work that remained to be done: to correlate Pan Americanism with the European war and explain the significance of Pan Americanism with regard to the ideals mankind is seeking to-day.

From its beginning, from Monroe, Pan Americanism meant an ideal, an antagonism of concepts and standards between the Old World and the New World. We are, said the formidable antagonist of the Holy Alliance, a republican continent, a continent with ideals and formulas of its own concerning liberty and equality, may we also be one of fraternity! We will not consent that the formulas of the out-worn policy of a decrepit continent shall seek to intervene in our new life, in the effort we are making at a new political formula. Between us and you there is a difference of ideal, and for this ideal we are fighting.

The critical moment being passed for us, however, and at the rate the United States was forgetting its austere republican ideals of the beginning, and the nation of Puritans

¹Tribes of Indians that inhabit the Gran Chaco, in the north of Argentina.—THE EDITOR.

and strugglers was becoming converted into an aggregation of ease-loving millionaires and proletarian masses, debased or revolutionary, what could Pan Americanism be? Every Latin-American nation was pursuing its object: that of internal organization; while the United States was seeking its economic enlargement. All being centered upon themselves and the united ideals being buried under the thick layer of the individual interests of each, Pan Americanism tended to become a league of interests, of interests of every kind; and it failed. Sáenz Peña¹ could say with reason, in a Pan American congress, that geographical separation was not a sufficient explanation of the antagonism of interests between the Old World and the New World. The question thus placed in the utilitarian realm, more points of relation could be found between the South American republics and the monarchical nations of Europe than between them and their older sister, the progenitress of their ideals.

Nevertheless, Sáenz Peña himself, in combating the false Pan Americanism, which made pretense of a union of interests by means of a custom-house union, the unification of the monetary standard and other measures of a utilitarian character, returned, without perceiving it, to the true spirit of Pan Americanism, to what is the proper and characteristic ideal of this continent, a liberal and humanitarian interest, when he said: "America for humanity!"

Now, this movement has been completed by President Wilson. The ideals of Monroe, which were also those of Simón Bolívar, take on full growth and attain the

development they ought to have. The American continent has been able to achieve, in a century, complete virility. It is no longer content to keep itself separate and isolated in order to make its independence and ideals respected. Called upon, by the very nations which she previously disdained, the first-born nation of America enters the universal war, in the forefront precisely of the inheritors and continuators of the Holy Alliance, to avenge the American ideals of liberty and respect for the independence of nations as the sole arbiters of their own destinies. Wilson, in the course of his conference with the Mexican journalists, turns toward the whole continent and says: "Behold our ideal: this is Pan Americanism!"

This name, for many years and on too good grounds, was the cause of anxiety to, and cavilings by, Latin America. What did Pan Americanism mean? Did it mean political hegemony, political expansion, North American economic domination? Now, however, all suspicion must disappear. The president of the United States has been able to speak with the authority given him by the fact of having wrought in advance according to his own words. His nation has entered the struggle, actuated by an ideal—which is the only way to move men—and his people, sacrificing voluntarily vast sums of money and numbers of lives, thrills with enthusiasm at the mere thought that it does not pursue a single material interest. "We are absolutely disinterested," President Wilson was able to say. "We have given clear proofs that we fight only for greater liberty, more harmony and less selfishness among the peoples. This is our ideal, and this ideal I propose to you: this is Pan Americanism."

As then the ideal—the supreme sociological factor—tends to unite, it will be strange if from this time forward men of heart in America do not feel themselves drawn together. If this ideal is Pan Americanism, we are all Pan Americans.

¹Roque de Sáenz Peña, an eminent Argentine jurisconsult, diplomat and statesman, who, after serving his country in a number of important foreign posts and international congresses, was elected to the presidency; he died in office, in 1914; his *Derecho público americano*, one volume, was published in Buenos Aires in 1905, and two volumes of his *Escritos y discursos* were published in Buenos Aires just after his death, in 1914-1915.—THE EDITOR.



THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY OF BOLÍVAR¹

BY

HARMODIO ARIAS

An illustration of the well known truth that the movement of peoples ordinarily lags scores of years or centuries behind the steps of their leaders. Simply and directly the author of this article indicates the Liberator's foresight and breadth of vision; he shows that Bolívar discerned many of the problems that have vexed, and still continue to vex, America; that he suggested to the famous congress of Panamá solutions some of which have been proven sound by time; and he emphasizes the fact "that Bolívar was not only great on account of his glorious exploits and exalted virtues, but also that his just and noble aspirations make him worthy of a place of honor in the history of American international law."—THE EDITOR.

MANY centuries before the discovery of the New World, Cicero had said "the state is nothing but a body of individuals united for the purpose of promoting their mutual security and benefit by means of combined force." This concept, which even in our days is cited as fundamental in the internal and external policy of nations, came to be, with certain modifications, the standard and guide of the Liberator in the organization of the states which he established when he removed from them the chains that bound them to Spain. Much more human, much more sincere and much more real than the political apostles who had preceded him, he softened this conception of the state by founding it not only upon "combined force," but also upon the immovable bases of concord, harmony and justice.

Hence, as a corollary of his proud and grandiose ideal of beholding America freed of all external domination, he endeavored always to make it possible for the people liberated by himself to be in a position to be included within the scope of international laws, as the *subjects* and not as the *objects* of these laws, and thence, in the full enjoyment of the fundamental and inherent rights which the laws of nations grant to the members of the international community.

It is worthy of remark therefore that our hero, from the beginning of his cam-

paign, had resolved in his powerful brain a problem of international policy, arriving at the conclusion that the state not only needs its liberty and existence, but that in order to save and maintain them it is indispensable that it shall be raised to a level upon which it may settle its own problems and contribute to the development of the philosophico-moral ideals of humanity.

He knew that the fundamental basis of every human institution rests upon sociality, inasmuch as man is an organic and spiritual creature. It is not the empty and autonomous willing of Kant; nor yet the cutting off of the affections. It is the subordination of the interests of the *ego*, the subjugation of the feelings and the individual appetites in order to form a league between men and impel them toward society. Because of the relations that are developed between men societies arise. States, however, like individuals, can not live withdrawn from each other. Thus international society, the *Magna Civitas*, is formed. It is on this account and no other that it is maintained that the relations between states constitute the true basis of international law. The state, if it forms a part of the family of nations, ought to possess the power to adjust its relations and its conduct to the standard that harmonizes with the ideals of civilized nations.

There can be no doubt that the first impulse of the Liberator's youth, the perennial inspiration of his soul, the dream of his whole life, was contained in his solemn

¹An address delivered in the great hall of the Instituto Nacional of Panamá, July 24, 1918.

oath made upon the Aventino: "I swear by the God of my fathers; I swear by them; and I swear by my country, that I shall give my arm no rest and my soul no repose until I shall have broken the chains that oppress us by the will of Spanish power."

He sought liberty as the first step. Why? For the happiness of the peoples. The absence of chains is not the desideratum: it is simply a means. There are free peoples that are very far removed from happiness; they lack culture; their pseudo-liberal institutions contain perhaps the last word in the democratic doctrines. This, however, is no more than the form; it is empty within. No one respects such institutions for their hopeless superficiality. Bolívar knew that in order to found nations he must begin by making men. After 1815, during his ostracism in Jamaica, he gave us his politico-international creed, in which he succinctly indicated his ideal in this respect. In that little work which he wrote in Jamaica he showed that he was not satisfied with the mere idea that these nations should exist in freedom from the mother-country. It was necessary to establish them upon the solid foundations of culture and justice, for their own happiness, and to prevent, at all hazards, their internal life from deteriorating, thus avoiding their disintegration, and consequently, the necessity of international tutelage. I present here a part of his luminous ideas:

It is more difficult to lift a people out of servitude than it is to subjugate a free one. This truth is verified by the history of all times, which shows us the larger number of free nations subject to the yoke of oppression, and that very few of the enslaved nations recover their liberty. In spite of this conviction, the central countries of this continent have made an attempt to secure liberal and even perfect institutions, doubtless as the effect of the instinct that all men have of aspiring to their greatest possible felicity, which is secured infallibly in civil societies when they are established upon the bases of justice, liberty and equality.

Bolívar knew well that in a people "recently released from chains," in a community of freedmen, the larger part would

offer worship to false idols: such as frivolity, hypocrisy, showy superficiality. Therefore he says to us:

Shall we be capable of bearing in its true equilibrium the difficult burden of a republic? Can it be conceived that a people recently released from chains shall cast itself into the arena of liberty, without, like Icarus, its wings melting and its falling into the abyss? Such a prodigy is inconceivable; it has never been seen. Consequently, there is no true argument that can flatter us with this hope.

Later, when he had now had some experience in the management of public affairs, he exclaimed:

To form a stable government, there is required a basis of national spirit which shall have as an object a uniform inclination toward two cardinal points: to moderate the general will and to limit public authority.

This creative genius did not limit himself to thinking of the organization of the state for internal purposes only. We have already indicated that his varied and complex mind was likewise concerned that the American peoples should be established upon solid foundations that should permit them to take part in the concert of the great nations. The American world strong and free! In his words:

It is a grandiose idea to attempt to form of the whole New World a single nation with a sole tie that shall bind its parts together and to the whole. Inasmuch as it has one origin, one language, the same customs and one religion, it ought therefore to have a single government that would confederate the different states which are to be formed; but it is not possible, because different climate, diverse geographical positions, opposing interests, dissimilar characteristics, separate America. How beautiful it would be if the isthmus of Panamá were for us what the isthmus of Corinth was for the Greeks! Would that we might have some day the good fortune to inaugurate there an august congress of the representatives of the republics, kingdoms and empires to treat of and to discuss the high concerns of peace and war, with the nations of the other parts of the world! A corporation of this kind might come into being in some happy period of our regeneration.

As soon as he was relieved of the turmoil of a battle, and without even

thinking of the laurels he had won by the victory obtained, he began to concern himself with the relation that ought to exist between these countries among themselves and between them and the other nations. In giving an account of the serious campaign of Venezuela in 1813, he uses the opportunity to point out to the government of Bogotá his conviction that "only an intimate and fraternal union of the sons of the New World and an unalterable harmony in the operations of their respective governments will be able to make them formidable to our enemies and respectable in the sight of the other nations." Of a governor, somewhat ambitious of command, who made appeal, this same year, to the autonomy of his province, he asked this question: "How can small populations, weak and poor, aspire to sovereignty and maintain it?"

These wise principles had become rooted in the mind of Bolívar. As fast as he wrested from its oppressors a handbreadth of territory, he endeavored to establish upon it a strong organization, and afterward to effect a union with his brothers for the purpose of establishing an American hegemony. He imagined that these nations were forced to form a kind of federation that would make them worthy of the respect and the admiration of Europe itself. In 1818, when the independence of Venezuela was not yet assured, he wrote to the supreme directors of Buenos Aires and Chile in the following terms:

As soon as the triumph of the arms of Venezuela shall complete the work of independence, or as more favorable circumstances shall permit more frequent communications and closer relations, we shall hasten, with the most lively interest, to work, on our part, for an American agreement which, by forming from all our republics one political body, shall present America to the world with an aspect of majesty and grandeur without example among the nations of antiquity. America thus united, if heaven shall grant to us this earnest prayer, will be able to call herself the queen of nations, the mother of republics.

Three years later, after the congress of Cúcuta had formed the republic of Colombia, the Liberator and president took the necessary steps to initiate in a

formal manner negotiations with the rest of the American republics, looking to his vehement longings, those hopes of international greatness, that would guarantee the essential stability of these countries. About the end of the year 1821, Bolívar appointed two plenipotentiaries, one of them to the government of México, and the other to the republics of Perú, Chile and Buenos Aires, to negotiate treaties of union for the purpose of "maintaining themselves against the possible aggressions of a foreign power," laying thus, as appears in the instructions imparted to the ministers, "the foundations of an *amphictyonic* body or assembly of plenipotentiaries" that should give "impulse to the common interests of the American states; *that should adjust the discords* that might arise in the future between the peoples that have the same customs and the same habitudes and which, for want of so sacred an institution, might perhaps kindle the baleful wars that have desolated other regions less fortunate."

In January, 1822, the Liberator addressed an autograph letter to don Bernardo O'Higgins, supreme director of Chile, from which we can not abstain from quoting these striking paragraphs:

Of all the epochs that mark the history of the American nations, no period is so glorious as the present, in which the empires of the New World, freed of the shackles which, from the other hemisphere, cruel Spain had laid upon them, have recovered their liberty, attaining for themselves a national existence. The grand day of America, however, has not arrived. We have expelled our oppressors, broken the tables of their tyrannical laws and founded legitimate institutions; but we still need to lay the foundations of the social compact which ought to form of this world a nation of republics.

Your Excellency, placed at the head of Chile, is called by a very happy fate to seal with your name the eternal liberty and salvation of America. Your Excellency is the man to whom your beautiful nation will owe—to her most remote posterity—not only her political creation, but also her social stability and her domestic repose.

The association of the five great states of America is so sublime in itself that it will come, I doubt not, to be a cause of astonishment for Europe. The imagination can not conceive,

without a start, of the magnitude of a colossus, which, like that of the Jupiter of Homer, will cause the earth to tremble with a glance. Who could resist an America united in heart, submissive to law and guided by the torch of liberty? Such is the *destiny which has been proposed by the government of Colombia* in sending to your Excellency our minister plenipotentiary, Senator Joaquín Mosquera.

May you deign to receive this mission with all your kindness. It is the expression of the interest of America. It ought to be the *salvation of the New World*.

The Colombian plenipotentiaries encountered not a few difficulties in their negotiations. They celebrated some treaties, but the treaties, it seems, did not satisfy the ardent desires of the Liberator.

In December, 1824, he wrote his memorable circular addressed to the governments of Buenos Aires, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, the United States of the North and Guatemala, in which he insisted upon the immense benefits that would accrue to the young republics from a meeting of delegates at Panamá to consider the protection of their institutions. Bolívar said:

After fifteen years of sacrifices, devoted to the liberation of America, in order to obtain a system of guaranties that, in peace or war, shall be the buckler of our destinies, it is now time that the interests and relations which unite among themselves the American republics, formerly Spanish colonies, ought to have a fundamental basis that shall perpetuate, if possible, the duration of these governments. To establish the system and to consolidate the power of this great political body, pertains to the exercise of a sublime authority which shall direct the policy of our governments, whose influence shall maintain the uniformity of its principles and whose mere name will calm our tempests. So respectable an authority can not exist, except in an assembly of plenipotentiaries, appointed by each of our republics, and gathered under the auspices of the victory obtained by our arms against the might of Spain.

If the world were to choose a capital, the isthmus of Panamá seems to be the point indicated for this august destiny, placed, as it is, in the center of the globe, looking, on the one hand, upon Asia, and on the other, upon Africa and Europe. The isthmus of Panamá has been offered by the government of Colombia for this purpose by existing treaties. The

isthmus is at an equal distance from the extremities, and on this account it would be the provisional place of the first assembly of the confederated countries. . . . The day on which our plenipotentiaries shall exchange their credentials will mark, in the history of America, an immortal epoch. When, after a hundred centuries, posterity shall seek the origin of our public law and shall recall the compacts that consolidated its destinies, it will peruse with respect the protocols of the congress of the isthmus. In them will be found the plan of the first alliances, since it will mark the progress of our relations with the universe.

Many are the writers who have already occupied themselves with the history of the famous congress of Panamá. The subject is of so much importance, however, that perhaps you will pardon me a few comments upon it.

The fundamental principles of the public law of America, as Bolívar conceived them, presented in their practical application very important problems that required transcendent decisions. In the congress of Panamá there was to be discussion and agreement upon the general bases of the American union; the organization of an *amphictyonic* assembly; the consolidation of the independence and institutions of America; the determination and guaranty of the respective frontiers upon the sound and equitable principles of *uti possidetis*; the adoption of arbitration and mediation for the settlement of international controversies; an agreement upon declaring the trade in slaves international piracy; and, finally, to decide upon what was best with regard to the opening of a canal across the isthmus of Panamá. These problems could only be resolved by means of the concurrence of all the nations of America. Upon the adequate solutions which it was hoped would be adopted by the congress would depend the respect, the consideration and the majesty in which the New World would be held.

Unfortunately for Spanish America, the republics were few that took part in the deliberations of the congress. On the one hand, the slight preparation which the peoples of the south had for the exercise of sovereignty contributed, in large measure, to the relative failure of the majestic dream of the Liberator. For this reason

and no other, without doubt, was it possible that the darts of calumny should be permitted to aim a tremendous attack at the grandiose program that had germinated in the mind of the greatest and most disinterested benefactor of humanity. The rivalry and resentments of inferior men sought to find a means of detracting from the prestige of one who had made them great in appearance. In those times were already circulated, in a whispering manner, rumors that Bolívar wished to place upon himself the crown of the Andes. A sad and cruel epilogue, as he himself said, would this have been: to exchange the honor, the glory, the majesty of a Liberator for the opprobrium of a crown.

On the other hand, the great republic of the north, from motives of another character, did not concede to the nascent republics the beneficent influence of her sympathy. In spite of the fact that the president not only desired but was anxious to establish friendly relations with the countries of the south for the development of North American commerce, the congress of the United States, in a long and hot debate, manifested its opposition to the United States' taking part in the discussion of the most important problems which the Liberator had proposed. True it is that delegates were sent to the famous congress of Panamá, but they could have done nothing, even if they had reached the isthmus in time, because of the restrictions that had been placed upon them in their instructions.

As a consequence of what has been set forth, we have the fact that many of the South American nations abstained from accrediting delegates to the congress, moved, either by supposed oppositions of interests or by an ill repressed vanity and personal and imaginary resentments; and that the United States, on its part, did not coöperate in this enterprise, which would have been of transcendent importance, for reasons that, according to the opinion of many, have not yet been satisfactorily explained. This result must not only have embittered the existence of the great South American statesman, but also it retarded the progress of these peoples and undermined the spirit of patriotism, thus

contributing to the moral and material weakening of their institutions. The great republic of the north also must have suffered from its evident shortsightedness: the immense commerce of these regions passed into the hands of Europeans, and it has remained and will continue to remain in them for many years.

It is true that, at the congress of Panamá, it was adopted, as the basis of the system proposed by Bolívar, that the American states should become allied in peace and war, mutually guaranteeing the integrity of their respective territories; but in practice, the dreams of greatness, equality, love and justice between these sister peoples, which the Liberator cherished as the fundamental program of his international policy, received, about that time, a fatal blow.

During the century over which independence has extended, experience has demonstrated that some of the problems set forth by the Liberator involved unachievable programs; others are still burning questions of the moment; and only a few have been settled satisfactorily.

The federation of Latin America turned out to be no more than a chimera. The Liberator, by the strength of his arm, imposed liberty upon these peoples. All his efforts to bequeath us his disinterestedness were futile. Ambition for command, the deliriums of greatness and the lack of preparation for democratic government, have contributed to form in every region a band of pseudo-apostles of democracy, pinch-beck semi-demagogues who have kept the larger part of the Central American republics and some of the northern republics of South America in periods of political effervescence, while their governments have oscillated between dictatorship and revolution. Such a state of things could not be propitious for union, since union can not exist without the subordination of certain individual interests in favor of those of the community.

For the same reasons the creation of *amphictyonic* assemblies has been rendered impossible up to the present. How could it be hoped that men who maintained an openly despotic government would be inclined to let their acts be judged by

bodies which they had not constituted and which therefore they would not be able to dominate? There can be no doubt that union and concord are indispensable for the republics of Latin America, in order that they may enjoy the unlimited prosperity that nature seems to have placed for them in their soil. Please God the dream of Bolívar may some day be converted into a reality!

Many disturbances and not a few international scandals have taken place in South America from a failure to adopt the frank, liberal and disinterested policy involved in the principle of *uti possidetis* of 1810, proclaimed by Bolívar as a basis for the determination of the boundaries of the young republics. Nothing more just and equitable could have been proposed than that the demarkations fixed by Spain for the administration of her colonies should become the political frontiers between the states. Strange as it may seem, even before the death of the Liberator, quarrels arose regarding boundaries between two of the states which he had liberated. Since that time the question of boundaries in America, fostered by the ambition of local chiefs, has every day menaced the peace of the New World.

Another of the international problems that the Liberator desired to have resolved by the congress of Panamá relates to nationality. Our peoples, elevated to the exercise of sovereignty in a violent manner, ought naturally to decide with wisdom and after mature reflection regarding the persons to whom they would extend the character of nationals. The circumstances that operated on this side of the Atlantic were totally different from those that exist and have existed in Europe, in this respect. There the character of the nationals of a state is determined upon the basis of maintaining a politico-international equilibrium or upon the sentiment of nationality. In America, independent life involved the destruction of a nationality in order to create one that should replace it. In the domain of private law there soon arose opposite theories—the *jus soli* and the *jus sanguinis*—from which might easily germinate conflicts, just as

in the question of frontiers. The problem has not yet been resolved, although there is, indeed, a tendency, on the part of the majority of the states, to adopt only the first of these principles, as being more in harmony with the economic and geographical conditions of America.

Bolívar, moved by profound and fixed convictions, at a blow, declared a thousand slaves free in his *hacienda* of San Mateo. Human slavery was repugnant to his humanitarian principles, his longings to create a patria. He therefore obtained the abolition of slavery among the peoples he liberated. He desired to go farther, however; he would have this abominable commerce punished not only by the internal laws of each state, but also that it should be adjudged piracy according to international law. The congress of Panamá decided nothing in this respect; and even if it had taken some action, it would have lacked sanction throughout America. The honor of achieving final success, in this program of sincere humanitarianism, fell to Belgium, sixty-four years after the close of the congress of Panamá, for having induced the majority of the civilized nations to subscribe to the famous treaty that was to put an end to the hateful trade.

The solemn establishment of the principles of arbitration and mediation in the settlement of international disputes has only been secured in part, upon questions that do not affect the existence or national honor of states. Perhaps Bolívar himself confided more in his personal influence to carry forward his purposes of international conciliation than in the desires of the governments that ought to take part in the congress. In his famous letter from Jamaica he confesses that this ideal is no more than "a baseless hope like that of the abbé Saint Pierre, who conceived the laudable madness of gathering a European congress to decide the lot and the interests of those nations." However, it may be affirmed, with don Jorge Holguín, in treating of this point in the second conference of the Hague, that America was the first to enter into this path of civilization, peace and harmony. In truth, it may be said that the principle of public law which governs the relations of the

South American republics was set forth by the Liberator Bolívar himself, when he conceived the happy idea of calling together a congress of the representatives of the South American republics, empowered to "settle all the differences that might arise among them."

Finally, the magnificent program of Bolívar that the congress of Panamá should take the necessary steps to establish an interoceanic communication across the isthmus of Panamá has been converted into a glorious reality, but not with the coöperation, as he earnestly desired, of all the nations of the New World, in order that its use might form an integral part of American international law. It is a strange coincidence that the Liberator of America, when the emancipation was hardly established, should think of opening a passage between the oceans where the discoverer of this New World sought to cross from Spain to the Asiatic seas.

Certain it is that Bolívar may not be called the initiator of the idea of the interoceanic canal. The mother-country had devoted herself, during the colonial period, to the study of this transcendent problem; and the notable Central American diplomats, Manuel Antonio de la Cerda and Antonio José Cañas, prior to the gathering of the congress of Panamá, had proposed to the great republic of the north the construction of a maritime way through Nicaragua. To the Liberator does belong, however, the indisputable glory of being the first to conceive of the isthmian canal as a property for American public use, and therefore subject to the principles of international justice and not to the mere exclusivist caprice of one nation. The idea of the Liberator was adopted by the great European powers, in 1888, for the regulation of the Suez canal.

On the other hand, the Panamá canal is under the exclusive control of the United States.

These, in my opinion, are the most important contributions of the great Liberator to American international law. They indicate his profound discernment of things, especially if they be studied in the light of the events that have taken place since his time.

SEÑORES:

Perhaps it would have been much more pleasant for you if I had devoted myself on this occasion to discussing the genial gallantry of this American genius; his ardent and generous affection; the tragic sincerity of his life; or perhaps that I should have attempted to describe some of his impetuous outbreaks of passion, which he always knew how to moderate with the soft dew of his kindness; or even that I should have sketched some of his thousand exploits, in which he presented himself to us with his head erect in the midst of the startling fly of bullets, his eagle's glance penetrating the thick smoke of combat, his voice of command rising above the deafening noise of the cannon, while we observed, in turn, how upon his breast crossed and recrossed the brave and invincible blades of the fierce Titans of Castilla. Naught of this have I done, at the risk of wearying you, because I think the hour has come for spreading the idea that Bolívar was not only great on account of his glorious exploits and his exalted virtues, but also that his just and noble aspirations make him worthy of a place of honor in the history of American international law. Well might it be said of the Liberator: "in that heart were included all the gifts of heaven." Time has taken it on itself gradually to give to him his natural proportions.



THE BRIDGE OF TRIUMPH

BY

ALBERTO MACKENNA SUBERCASSEAU

"The bridge of triumph" extends from America to France, and the author, who pictures the myriads of men and material resources pouring across this bridge to aid in winning the war, pays glowing tribute to the United States for its idealism, its century-old sense of gratitude to France and its whole-hearted endeavor to express its appreciation, to the fullest measure, in the interest of universal humanity.—THE EDITOR.

BETWEEN the fourth and the fourteenth of July—two glorious dates that symbolize two great movements of liberty—between the United States and France, has been stretched a magnificent bridge over which pours the vigorous vitality of a young democracy that goes toward the ancient Europe to demolish, with its strong arms, the remains of an enslaving autocracy.

The history of the ages has never presented a finer expression of gratitude and solidarity.

Never has one country been seen repaying a debt to another country in so noble and magnanimous a manner.

What France did for the liberty of the United States in 1776, when the eagle was essaying its first and hesitating flight, the great republic of the north does for France in 1918.

Between the two republics flows to-day the living and palpitating current that is destined to increase the resources of those who contend for freedom and human dignity.

The United States sends its men by the hundred thousand and its money by the thousand million—its industries, its engines of war and its inventions—to take part in giving the finishing stroke to the empire of force.

In 1776, Washington fought at the side of Lafayette and Rochambeau for the liberty of America. In 1918, Wilson fights at the side of Foch and Clemenceau for the freedom of France and of the world—to save the principles of the American revolution and of the French revolution.

The potent vitality of this young people, conscious of what independence is worth and of what individuality produces, will open a breach in order to come at the very

heart of the old feudal castle and plant there upon its ruins the banner of the fourth of July!

The two great republics, strongly united by historic bonds, by affinities of spirit and sentiments, by common aspirations and ideals, will obtain, with the help of their great allies, the liberation of Europe from the tyranny of a country that has consecrated as a principle of government the slavery of the individual to the state and the slavery of the conscience to force.

The principles of the great revolution are to-day upheld by the mighty arms of a hundred million freemen, against whom Prussian despotism and the fatal genius of the Krupps have not been able to invent cannon of long enough range, nor to forge chains of sufficient strength.

The aggressive militarism, in provoking the vigorous American people, with that lack of psychological comprehension and with an arrogance characteristic of it, signed its own sentence of death.

The military empire may still keep itself erect by the phenomenon of galvanism; but its end is inevitable, fatal; and nothing can stay it.

The robust soldiers of America, in hurling themselves with furious impetus upon the Prussian hordes, to the cry of "*Lusitania! Lusitania!*" are the echo of a powerful and virile people that will severely chastize those who have profaned war, who have not respected the sacred innocence of children, nor the white hood of the sister of charity, nor the banner of the Red Cross afloat over hospital ships.

The bridge of triumph is stretched between the United States and France; along it are passing, in rapid march, the avengers of a civilization trampled under foot, of an outraged humanity.

EDUCATION AMONG THE ANCIENT MEXICANS

BY

GREGORIO TORRES QUINTERO

A comprehensive study of education among the pre-Columbian Aztecs of the central valley of México, prepared for a school journal, and based upon the early Spanish records and the Indian hieroglyphs, and presented in an easy and picturesque style. The early Mexicans are shown to have made no inconsiderable achievement in organized education.—THE EDITOR.

THE first question that arises in connection with this title is: Did education exist among the ancient Mexicans?

Before answering it, let us decide as to what we understand by education. There have been many definitions of this word, but all are in essential harmony in ascribing to it the following meaning: the development of the faculties of man in such a manner as to secure him perfection and happiness and the fulfilment of his social destiny.

This destiny must be relative, according to the civilization of each people. It is unquestionable that, in every human group, individuals must fulfil certain conditions, required for the common good, in order to assure at one and the same time the welfare of all.

The action brought to bear upon them to effect these conditions is nothing more than *education*. In this sense, not only does education exist in an organized society, but also among savages and even in the bosom of an isolated family.

There is an education that is the result of the action imposed by teachers in the schools, and perhaps it is not the most potent. Beside it exists another, that is the consequence of what have come to be called *education's hidden coöperators*, and they are: climate, race, customs, social conditions, political institutions and religious beliefs.

Both kinds of education existed in the ancient Anáhuac, as there were teachers; and the hidden coöperators exercised upon the people a powerful influence.

What has been set forth leads us to

answer affirmatively the question formulated above.

The pedagogical activity of a people is not manifested in its doctrines and theories only, but also in its manners and practical institutions. Assuredly we have not from the ancient Mexicans works that treat of education; their philosophers did not commit to writing the principles on which they relied. Nevertheless, they left paintings and hieroglyphs that give us an idea of their moral tendencies and their educational aims and practices. In addition to the information collected by the first historians,¹ there exists the valuable document called *Códice mendocino*,² which sheds much light upon this subject; and, although imperfect, we can trace with these materials the scheme of education in Anáhuac.

The Mexican people was a very religious people. According to the calculations of Clavijero³ there were in all the empire

¹One of the most important of these historians was Bernardino de Sahagún, a Spanish Franciscan priest and historian, who died in México in 1590: he was the author of *Historia de Méjico antes de la conquista*, which may be deemed one of the most complete and necessary of the many works published upon the period. The manuscript of this work lay overlooked for two centuries in the National library in Madrid; the history was published by Lord Kingsborough in volume IV of his *Antiquities of México*.—THE EDITOR.

²The Codices of Mendoza, a series of catalogued picture writings, published by Lord Kingsborough, in volume I of *Antiquities of México*, the original of which is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford.—THE EDITOR.

³Francisco Javier Clavijero, born in Veracruz (1731-1787): a Mexican Jesuit priest and historian who spent thirty-six years traveling in the viceroyalty of New Spain (México); his work, *Historia antigua de Méjico*, and especially the part that treats of Mexican antiquities, is full of curious information.—THE EDITOR.

40,000 temples, served by a million priests. The priest was much respected, his office being closely related to politics. Motecuhzoma II⁴ and Cuauhtemoc discharged the functions of high-priest, from which they were elevated to the first magistracy. Their religion was a mixture of great and of puerile ideas, and it was overlaid with superstitious practices. Their principal god was the god of war, named Huizilopochtli, a fierce and sanguinary deity, who was placated only by beholding at his feet the palpitating hearts of innumerable human victims.

That their god might not suffer hunger, they threw themselves fanatically into martial expeditions, from which they returned laden with booty and prisoners, the latter of which they tended carefully and fattened for sacrifice to the god. They devoted themselves to the severest and most painful penances, such as drawing blood, by pricking themselves with the sharp tips of the *maguey*,⁵ from shins, thighs, breasts, arms and ears. At other times they pierced their ears or tongues, and through the orifice passed reeds and straws in a greater or less number, sometimes exceeding four hundred. Their superstition led them to many acts of barbarity.

Their religious feasts were very numerous, demanding an interminable attendance upon the temples. The Mexicans spent their time fighting and praying. They believed those who died in war or in captivity went to dwell in the "house of the sun."

Among this people there was nothing great or precise outside the army and the priesthood. There were no castes, nor was slavery perpetual; the warriors could attain the highest positions, even if of plebeian origin; by courage and virtue, the

lowest classes could rise and escape from their humble state.

From this picture of the Mexicans, traced in bare outline, it may be deduced that their educational practices must have united to create valiant and pious warriors of the young men.

When a boy was born, the *ticill*, or midwife, took him up and said to him: "Here thou buddest and flowerest; here thou art separated from thy mother as a piece of stone is, whence it is cut; this is thy cradle, the place where thou retest thy head; this house is but thine inn; thine own land is another; for elsewhere art thou set apart, which is the field upon which wars are waged, where battles are fought; thither art thou sent; war is thy trade and thy right; thy duty is to give to the sun to drink of the blood of the enemy."

If it was a girl, the midwife said to her: "Thou must abide in the house like the heart within the body; thou shalt not wander forth from it; thou must not make it thy custom to go elsewhere; thou must keep alive upon the hearth the embers with which the fire is covered; thou must be the stones on which the pot rests; in this place our god closes thee round about; here must thou work, and thy lot shall be to bring water and to grind corn upon the *metate*,⁶ here must thou sweat beside the embers of the hearth."

These words reveal the destinies of the two sexes. The umbilical cord of the male was buried by the warriors upon the battlefield; that of the female, near the fireplace.

Complying with the prescriptions of nature, the mother gave the breast to her children, even when she was a woman of high rank. The period of lactation extended over two years.

The work of educating the children was shared by the father and the mother: the father took charge of the boys; the mother, of the girls.

The Mexicans were accustomed to bathe their children repeatedly in cold water,

⁶A low stone bench, concaved on top, upon which Indian corn, after being softened by soaking in lime or lye water, is ground wet, in preparation for *totillas*.—THE EDITOR.

⁴The author's way of spelling the name of the fifth king or chief of Tenochtitlán or México, called Huiche (the Aged), usually spelled Moctezuma or Moteczuma by Spanish historians, and Montezuma by writers of England and the United States.—THE EDITOR.

⁵*Maguey*, or *pita* in Cuba and some other parts of America, is the American aloe (*Agave americana*) or "century plant;" in México it matures in from six to eight years; then the immense bloom stalk shoots up, to a height of from ten to fifteen feet, in a few weeks, bearing thousands of small yellow flowers.—THE EDITOR.

even during the winter; they clothed them lightly and gave them a hard bed. By means of all this, they strove to make them sound and strong.

When the child was four years old, the father set him to work, either by having him carry water in small vessels or by loading him with small bundles, as this people, which lacked beasts of burden, found it necessary to accustom the men, whether they were poor or were merchants or soldiers, to carrying baggage over long distances. The father began to teach the boy, at the age of seven, his own trade or profession, as sons followed in the footsteps of their fathers.

The mother accustomed her daughter to go always covered, awakening in her very early the sentiment of modesty. She taught her to spin and weave, grind and *tortear*,⁷ in a word, all the domestic tasks.

During this education, parents punished their lazy or refractory children by thrusting the tips of the *maquey* into their bodies, beating them with sticks or exposing them to the asphyxiating smoke of burning *chile*.⁸

The maxims they inculcated involved a not unrefined morality, as the following testify:

1. Be polite to others; for with humility the favor of the gods and of the elders is obtained.

2. Offend no one, nor rob him of his honor; let there be merit in thee, for the gods bestow upon each one according to their good pleasure. Accept, my son, what they bestow, and give them thanks; and if it is much, be not puffed up, but humble thyself, and thy merit shall be greater, and others will have naught to say or to murmur against thee; but, on the other hand, if thou dost appropriate that which belongs not to thee, thou wilt be insulted, and thou wilt offend the gods.

3. Love and have compassion, and be not

⁷A word, facetiously invented by the author, meaning to make *tortillas*, corn cakes, still the national substitute for bread in México; a certain amount of practice and skill are necessary in patting and pressing out thinly the dough from which the *tortilla* is made.—THE EDITOR.

⁸Red pepper, the Castilian name being *aji*.—Can it be that the German initiators of the use of asphyxiating gases for military purposes sought suggestions among the most cruel and sanguinary of the American savages?—THE EDITOR.

thou proud, neither give pain to others; be polite and well bred, and thou wilt be loved and highly regarded.

4. Hurt no one's feelings, nor offend him, and do that which thou oughtest, and exalt not thyself on this account, lest thou anger the gods against thee and thou go not unpunished.

5. Be thoughtful to serve and to please thy husband, in order that so thou mayest be worthy that the gods shall do well by thee and grant thee children.

6. Seated or standing, walking or working, always, my daughter, think and do that which is right, and do all that thou oughtest in order to serve the gods and thy parents.

7. Lie not, nor deceive any one; for the gods behold thee.

Parents commended to their daughters principally the worship of the gods, the preservation of chastity, and obedience and love toward their husbands; and one of the precepts most straitly enjoined upon the young was truth in speech; falsehood was severely punished. They were also taught consideration of the poor and the friendless, horror of vice, constant employment in order to avoid idleness; and they were instructed to exercise moderation in all things.

The little difference that existed between the education of the nobles and the plebeians was to be found in the former's not being taught the mercantile calling; and they were watched over more carefully by their kinsmen.

The public education of the men began at the age of fifteen, and that of the women at the age of twelve or thirteen years.

There were two kinds of schools: the *calmecac* and the *telpuchcalli*. The difference between them has been much discussed, but it seems beyond doubt that the *calmecac* was designed for the education of the nobles, and the *telpuchcalli* for the middle classes.

The señor Orozco y Berra⁹ says the *calmecac* was a religious and the *telpuchcalli*

⁹Manuel Orozco y Berra (1816-1881) a Mexican archeologist and historian, the author of *Historia antigua y de la conquista de Méjico*; *Materiales para una cartografía mejicana*; *Doctrinas en jeroglificas*; *Memoria para la carta hidrográfica del valle de Méjico*; *Memoria para el plano de la ciudad de Méjico*, works of such distinction as to win for him membership in the Academia Española de la Lengua.—THE EDITOR.

a civil college. What is certain is that in both religious instruction was given along with military instruction.

The difference lay, besides what was mentioned above, in the fact that the *calmecac* bordered more nearly on sacred things, and that priests also were educated in it, which has caused many writers to call it a *seminary*.

The pupils of the *calmecac* were limited in number; on this account there was only one establishment of the kind, and it was in the principal temple.

The *telpuchcalli*, on the contrary, was open to all the young men of the middle class; their greater number consequently caused the multiplication of establishments of this kind, to such an extent that in Tenochtitlán there must have been from forty to fifty of them placed beside the lesser temples.

Both the *calmecac* and the *telpuchcalli* were peculiar in that they were *mixed*, that is, they received pupils of both sexes; but the sexes were separated in different departments, and a close and rigid supervision was kept over them.

Discipline was rigid and severe. The pupils led a life of seclusion, of constant work and harsh penance. They were dressed in thin clothing, their beds were hard and their food limited. The orders given by the superiors were obeyed strictly, without account being taken of the season, the hour or the weather. They bathed at midnight and during the day, rose early, swept the temple, brought wood, kept the required fasts, prepared the *teocallis* or temples, prayed and made sacrifice of themselves by drawing blood with *maguey* tips.

Punishments were heavy, the pain of death being included. The proud, the disobedient, whoever offended another, were severely chastised, being beaten with nettles or pricked with the tips of the *maguey*; the sluggard was awakened by having cold water or hot ashes thrown on him; the lazy and incorrigible had their hair burned off with *ocotes* (strips of heart pine), which was an affront; the drunkard and the unchaste were clubbed to death, burned alive or pierced with arrows.

We have already said that the *calmecac* was attended by two kinds of pupils: those who followed the priestly calling until they died in it; and those who merely received religious and civic training, and left the seminary when they wished to marry.

The women entered the *calmecac* or the *telpuchcalli* at twelve or thirteen years of age. Their vows were for a year or longer, while some bound themselves perpetually. Certain writers have called them *nuns*. Their dress was white and clean; they lived in the buildings in the courts of the temples; they slept clothed for modesty, strictly watched over by the principal assistants. Their life was one of abstinence and hard work: they sewed, spun and wove. They kept their eyes bent low, observed silence and suffered inevitably the pain of death for the slightest lapse from chastity. Aged guards, on the outside of the buildings, kept vigil over them, watching night and day.

The proper age for marriage was, for a woman, from fifteen to eighteen, and for a man, from twenty to twenty-two years. Generally the future husbands and wives were taken from the colleges by their parents or relatives in order to be married, the previous consent of the directors having been obtained.

The priests looked after the education of the young; in their hands was the destiny of society; they formed the men and women as they willed, inculcating in them a profound respect for the gods and their ministers. The priesthood constituted the learned, the powerful class; the priests were the counselors of the humble classes, as well as of the pontiffs and kings, and by their irreproachable conduct they won the love of the people.

What was the learning of the priests? What was it they taught the young?

They taught hieroglyphic reading and writing, oratory, numbers, astronomy and astrology, chronology, geography, history and mythology.

Hieroglyphic writing among the Mexicans attained an admirable state of perfection. "I myself have seen," says

Las Casas,¹⁰ "a great part of our Christian doctrine written with figures and images which they read as we read the characters of a book."

The Aztecs, however, not only learned how to read, but they also made books. Says an author:

The Aztec book is quite similar to one of our quarto volumes. It is formed of a single leaf, from twelve to fifteen inches wide, and frequently from sixty to seventy feet in length, and it is not rolled, but folded in squares or in zigzag, so that, upon opening it, the leaves are exposed to view. Tablets of wood are attached to each of the outside or end folds, so that the whole presents a very neat appearance, as if it had come from the shop of a skillful binder.

Of what subjects did these books treat?

The señor Orozco y Berra says:

¹⁰Bartolomé de Las Casas, a celebrated Spanish missionary, born in Sevilla (1474-1556): he accompanied Diego Velázquez to Cuba in 1511, and he quickly attracted attention by his assiduous efforts in behalf of the Indians and in opposition to the excesses of the soldiers; he preached against the enslavement of the natives in Santo Domingo, and in 1515 he returned to Spain and outlined to Fernando plans for the government of the Indians; with more or less success he continued his enterprises with Cardinal Cisneros and Carlos V, passing back and forth between America and Spain; in 1527 he was sent to Nicaragua to convert the Indians, but, pursued by his enemies, he passed to Guatemala and hence he was sent by the governor to Spain in search of missionaries; the emperor appointed him Bishop of Cuzco, Perú, but he declined to accept the office, and he was made bishop of Chiapa (Chiapas); in 1541 he embarked for Spain, renouncing the bishopric in 1550 and retiring to the convent of San Gregorio, in Valladolid, where he died. He wrote: *Destrucción de las Indias*; *De unico vocationis modo*; and *Historia general de las Indias*. He has been called the "Protector of the Indians," and with a pious mind and the best of intentions he devoted many years of his life to efforts in behalf of them. It must be admitted, however, that in his ardent advocacy of the cause of the Indians, against the Spanish conquerors and colonizers, he almost habitually exaggerated the cruelties of the Spaniards and somewhat idealized the natives. The result was that Las Casas probably did more than any other Spaniard or foreigner to prejudice the reputation of his countrymen. Curiously enough, many historians, of countries ordinarily hostile to Spain, were discriminating enough to discount the absurd numerical and geographical inaccuracies of Las Casas, while accepting his slanderous statements regarding the Spaniards, in their treatment of the Indians, as established fact. Herrera, in his *Décadas*, with its repulsive illustrations, perpetuated the errors of Las Casas and did much to bring ill-fame upon the Spaniards. There is an urgent demand for a discerning non-Spanish historian who shall open the case for Spain, in regard to her general treatment of the American Indians, and, indeed, in regard to her whole colonial method.—THE EDITOR.

According to the unanimous testimony of the writers or from the examination of the paintings that may be studied to-day, we know that the books covered all branches: history, wanderings, genealogies, the civil and criminal codes, the calendar, mythology, the art of divination, astronomy, usages and customs, geographical and topographical plans and the charts of cities, accounts and tributes, lands and properties, statutes and legal actions, songs and hymns to the gods, etc., etc.

Since the Aztecs possessed books, we ought to conclude that a great part of their teaching must have been derived from the texts by having the pupils to learn and to decipher the paintings. This kind of instruction, however, was probably for the proficient and the historians and for those who followed the calling of the priesthood. In respect of primary teaching, the method was oral, for the *Códice mendocino* presents, in one of its paintings, a teacher and pupil, the former in the attitude of speaking and the latter in that of listening to the lesson.

The ancient Mexicans were very ceremonious. For every social act there were set rules, which constituted the code of politeness. They were discourses or harangues which they learned by heart in the schools and in the family circle, and which they repeated on all similar occasions without any alteration whatsoever.

According to Gama, the Mexicans not only knew the four fundamental operations of arithmetic, but they went as far as complicated calculations, such as proportions and the rule of three, and others.

Calculation was the basis of their astronomical progress. It is known that the computation of the duration of the year was made by the Mexicans with marked exactitude. The cause of eclipses was not unknown to them.

They had a system of weights and measures.

The elements of geometry could not have been unknown to them. The regularity of certain astronomical sculptures, symmetry in the tracing and division of the circle, the distribution of lands and the measurement of areas, are evidences of the fact.

The merchants, with their long journeys,

contributed to the knowledge of geography. Motecuhzoma gave Cortés, according to Bernal Díaz del Castillo,¹¹ a cloth of *nequen*¹² on which all the rivers and roadsteads along the coasts were painted and imitated very naturally.

History was repeated by oral tradition and was perpetuated by paintings and songs, of which the Mexicans were very fond.

With all the indications of knowledge we have mentioned hitherto and with all the practices to which we have alluded, it is possible to trace out a sufficiently complete plan of education.

More, however, must be added. It might be believed that the Mexicans, in subjecting their bodies to penances, gave but slight regard to the preservation of their physical powers. Nothing could be more erroneous. They were essentially a fighting people, and the gymnasium could not have been lacking among them. In the schools they had exercises in the use of arms; the pupils took part in battle as recruits, carrying the baggage of the veterans; in a lake city like Tenochtitlán, the inhabitants would be nautical, and the exercise of rowing could not have been wanting among the Mexicans. If this were not yet enough, it would be sufficient to indicate three kinds of exercise of which the Aztecs were very fond: the dance, the game of ball and *volador*. We can not resist the temptation to transcribe here the following description of the dance, given by the señor Orozco y Berra. He says:

They made much of the dance and of song, for which kings and lords maintained dancers. . . . In private gatherings the dancers were few . . . the number increasing to thousands in the solemn and public festivals. . . . The musicians, placed upon fine mats, occupied the center, while the dancers formed about

them concentric circles, wider and wider as they receded from the music. Near the center were two or four persons, the leaders of the dance; the dancers were arranged in such a manner that they formed, as it were, the radii of a circle, so that each one had for a partner, now the person from the side, now from the front, now from behind. The signal being given, the dance began with a slow measure. Skill lay in the fact that the music, the song and the dance were maintained in perfect accord; voices kept time, each dancer raised, as if impelled by a spring, the same hand, lowered the same arm, moved the same foot. As was natural, those of the first circle moved somewhat slowly; but in proportion as they were removed from the center, since they had to cover a greater circumference in the same time, the velocity became greater and greater. When a stanza was finished and repeated, it was changed into a more lively measure, successively, until the last stanzas assumed a bewildering rapidity. Within the confines there were little children following the dance; and buffoons or jesters, in ridiculous disguises, uttered smart and biting remarks, to please the spectators. These dancing spectacles lasted for many hours; the tired dancers gave place to others; entire troupes took the places of those who had retired to eat or refresh themselves. They appeared in their best clothing, ornaments and jewelry, carrying in their hands handsome feathers, flowers and bouquets, and at times they crowned themselves with garlands. It was a spectacle worthy of admiration.

The Mexicans were as much given to their game of ball as they were to dancing. In all the cities and principal villages there was a *tlachtli*, or spot where they played ball. The place was covered with plaster, smooth and clean. The players were naked, wearing on their buttocks a deer-skin and on their hands a kind of glove. They received the ball upon their buttocks, their haunches or their knees, and the object was to make it pass through a small hole pierced in a stone, fixed in a corner of a building or on the top of a wall, with a dexterity that was greatly applauded.

The game of *volador*, as we know it to-day, is but a pale reflection of what it was formerly. The players, very much dressed up, ascended by the cords, bearing timbrels and musical instruments; and they danced on the upper part, while making jokes. When it was time, the

¹¹A famous Spanish historian, born in Medina del Campo toward the end of the fifteenth century; he died in Santiago de los Caballeros, Guatemala, in 1560; he was a companion of Hernán Cortés in the conquest of México; he spent his last days in the city of Guatemala, of which he was *corregidor*; he was the author of *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, a notable specimen of crude historical frankness, and of no inconsiderable value.—THE EDITOR.

¹²*Henequén*, *pila* or *maguey*, the American aloe (*Agave americana*), and the fiber made from it.—THE EDITOR.

four principal *voladorists*, dressed like great birds with wings outspread, tied themselves to the ends of the ropes. With the weight of the players, the ropes untwisted, producing a whirling movement, wider and wider, until the players reached the ground.

Thus, therefore, music, song, the dance and poetry served as the crown of education. Painting, sculpture, architecture, fabrics, feather work gave exercise to the taste. Dramatic poetry even was not lacking among this people. The theater was in the center of some market or in the court of a temple, uncovered, and in it very funny farces were played.

This people had then a quite advanced civilization, although with very grave defects, as is the case with all peoples

that have traveled hardly half the way that must lead them to perfection. Their legislation shows that they attempted to introduce some order into their society. It is true the code was Draconian, but it was addressed to the repression of certain hateful and disintegrating crimes, like fraud, robbery, homicide, drunkenness, adultery, incest, etc., which were nearly always punished by death.

Developing freely, the arts and sciences might have taken on a great growth among the Mexicans. However, there came from the east, in small caravels, white men and bearded, who manipulated steel and the thunder-bolt. The throne of Motecuhzoma was plunged into the lake, and with it, in the midst of fire and death, the civilization of Anáhuac.



GRAINS OF GOLD

THOUGHTS SELECTED FROM THE WORKS OF JOSÉ MARTÍ¹

BY

RAFAEL G. ARGILAGOS

One of the noblest and, at the same time, one of the most pathetic figures of the Cuban struggles for independence—a so-called dreamer, man of letters, patriot—had the good fortune to bequeath to his country, not only the heritage of the memory of his brave deeds and his tragic death in battle, but also a wealth of sound and appealing teaching, clothed usually in noble form. The compiler of the selections, which ran through three numbers of the magazine where they appeared, and of which only a few are given here, has conferred a benefit upon his countrymen and upon the world in general by making some of Martí's best thoughts more widely available.—THE EDITOR.

INTRODUCTION

MARTÍ has been, he is and he will be, in the radiant constellation of eminent men who have bestowed fame and glory upon Cuba, the most distinguished figure.

He was everything: the faith that saves and encourages, the valor that kindles and exalts, the genius that projects and shines, the love that conquers and dominates.

His life was an apostleship, the sublime, the grandiose apostleship of the patria, at whose sacred altar he offered up the purest, the most ardent, the most beautiful outpourings of his soul.

He preached by word and example; and such was the majesty and the grandeur of his actions that the multitudes, perhaps holding him to be divine—the Christ of a new doctrine of salvation—followed him

¹José Martí, "the apostle of Cuban independence," was born in Habana, in 1853; he took part in the famous revolutionary struggle of 1868, and he was imprisoned and banished in 1869; deported to Spain, he studied law and afterward went to México, and then to Guatemala, where he became a professor of literature; after the peace of Zanjón, he returned to Habana and achieved a reputation as an orator; he was deported to Spain again, however, in 1879, but he escaped and renewed his revolutionary activity; he organized *juntas* in Florida, Santo Domingo, Costa Rica and Cuba; and, in 1894, he had completed a plan for an expedition to, and risings in, Cuba; he was one of the leaders of the Cuban struggle which terminated in the intervention of the United States in behalf of Cuba, in 1898, although he was denied the privilege of seeing his country freed, being killed in the battle of Dos Ríos, in 1895.

The selections published here are taken from the *Jumes: Cuba; En los Estados Unidos; La edad de oro; and Hombres*.—THE EDITOR.

to his heroic calvary, anxious to share with him the torments of his patriotic vigils.

Killed at Dos Ríos, in an open and gallant encounter with the enemies of liberty—as he predicted and as was his most earnest desire—he arose triumphant in the magnificence of his spiritual life; and again the hearts of yesterday thrilled under the spell of him and worshipped him with infinite enthusiasm; to-day they offer him the laurels of glory and they make of his wise and holy parables, their bible, as it were, to illuminate and guide them through the future.

Among those who yesterday venerated his sublime figure with filial passion, among those who to-day have rendered homage to his memory and who pass along the ways of the redeemed patria repeating his apostolic words, we consider ourselves perhaps among the first and most devoted and fervent of his disciples.

This book which we give to the world to-day is a good proof of it: here are his best thoughts and his most tender emotions.

In order that the young of to-day—the generation that must to-morrow rule the destinies of our country—may better know that immaculate conscience; in order that they may learn them by heart and never forget them, we present here these aphorisms—grains of gold selected from the rich, inexhaustible mine of his brilliant works.

The reading of this book will be fruitful. It will illustrate, console, strengthen and

guide human spirits: the ignorant will imbibe from it a noble and wholesome knowledge of life; the troubled will find balsam for their painful wounds; the unbelieving will obtain consoling faith and hope; the lost will find straight and shining paths toward the future.

Let the young read it, read it lovingly; let them carry it with them as a precious jewel over the heart; let them place it within the reach of their hands, by the bedside at every moment; and everywhere, as if it were a jar of fruitful seeds to upturn upon the fertile furrows, let them pour it into their minds, with the hope that these seeds will germinate before long and produce an abundant stream of sublime civic and patriotic examples.

SELECTIONS

All great ideas have their great Nazarene.

The brotherhood of misfortune is the brotherhood of quickest growth.

An idea never excuses a crime or savage refinement in crime.

Fathers are brotherly friends: not implacable censors.

Who sows a scourge will reap a scourge: who kisses scatters, kisses will harvest.

The only law with authority is love.

He who loves, will be loved.

It is a rule that the highest and clearest foreheads draw upon themselves the stones that are always revolving in weak and envious hands.

To be worthy of confidence is but the duty of continuing to be worthy of it.

Duty ought to be done simply and naturally.

The son will hate what his father hated.

We must pay with our sorrows for the criminal riches of our grandfathers.

To foresee is the duty of him who dares to rule.

To go ahead of others, it is necessary to see farther than they.

Liberty costs very dearly, and we must either resign ourselves to living without it or decide to buy it at its price.

Great rights are not bought with tears, but with blood.

Speech has fallen into disrepute, because the weak, the vain and the ambitious have abused it.

When has a nation been established by those who beg for their rights?

Glory and victory are but stimulants to doing one's duty.

Upon foundations of newly made corpses and smoking ruins are not erected edifices of cordiality and peace.

A patria is a community of interests, a unity of tradition, a harmony of aims, a gentle and comforting fusion of loves and hopes.

By obeying the law strictly one honors his country.

The apostles of new ideas make themselves slaves to them.

No voice is too weak to offer praise.

Rights are taken, not asked for; they are wrested and not solicited.

Even despots, if they are knightly, prefer sincere and energetic, to timid and vacillating language.

It seems a profanation to give to the Creator of all beings and of all that are to be, the form of only one of the beings.

There is no accident for the spirit of man; there is only a north, crowned with light.

To postpone is not to decide.

*

The battle is in the workshops; glory,
in peace; the temple, in all the earth; the
poem, in nature.

*

Neither does literary originality suffice,
nor does political liberty exist, as long as
spiritual liberty be not assured.

*

Only the genuine is fruitful.

*

Only the direct is powerful.

*

Philosophy is nothing more than the
secret of the relation between the several
kinds of existence.

*

Perfection of form is almost always ob-
tained at the expense of the perfection of
the idea.

*

There is nothing better to delight and
strengthen the mind than the thorough
study and the timely application of lan-
guage.

*

Verses ought not to be like centifolious
roses, all full of petals, but, like the jasmine
of Malabar, heavy laden with essences.

*

A gait horse wins no battles.

*

Verse boils in the mind like must in the
vat.

*

The echo of the soul says something
deeper than the echo of the torrent.

*

The tomb is the road, and not the des-
tination.

*

Pain comforts, tries and clarifies.

*

Man is a shadow, his word is foam and
the idea is the only reality.

*

He who goes in search of mountains,
does not stop to gather pebbles by the way.

*

What is just sometimes seems unjust,
from the way it is defended.

*

To define is to save.

There is no pleasure like knowing whence
comes each word that is used, and how far
it will carry.

*

Of all the problems that to-day are
deemed cardinal, only one is cardinal; and
it is so tremendous that all time and zeal
were too little to solve it: the ignorance
of the classes that have justice on their side.

*

Truth, once discovered, does not go to
sleep again.

*

Inheritances stimulate laziness, selfish-
ness and vice.

*

Who has not felt, at least once in his
life, the kiss of the apostle upon his brow,
and in his hand the sword of battle?

*

Revolution seeks wings; governments
would have feet.

*

Justice itself, exercised by ignorant
people, resembles crime.

*

In every word ought to be enfolded a
deed.

*

To foresee is the duty of statesmen.

*

To fail to foresee is a public offense.

*

What matters is not that we shall tri-
umph, but that our country shall be happy.

*

Tyranny does not corrupt, but it pre-
pares!

*

To behold crime calmly is to commit it.

*

Without the smile of a woman, no man's
glory is complete.

*

When one is writing history with the
sword, he has neither time nor will to
write it with a pen on paper.

*

A man is greater than a word.

*

The despot yields to the one who faces
him, by his only way of yielding, which is
to disappear; he never yields to the one
who humbles himself before him.

A nation declines when it lacks confidence in itself; it grows when a great event happens that shows it that it still has its heart whole and clean.

*

In this world there is only one inferior race: that of those who always look out for their own interest, whether that of their vanity, their pride or their gain; and there is only one superior race: that of those who consult, above all things, the interests of humanity.

*

He is sacred who, in the vigor of life, with love at the head of a comfortable table, has pushed away the table and the counsels of cowardly love, and served his people without fear of suffering or death.

*

Everything is already said, but things that are sincerely felt are new.

*

He who draws forth from himself what another drew from himself before, is as original as the other.

*

Without feeling, one may be a sculptor or a painter in verse; but not a poet.

*

Words are useless when they do not found, when they do not clarify, when they do not add.

*

To think is to open furrows, raise foundations and give the countersign of hearts.

*

Victory is to the self-sacrificing.

*

The man of action respects only the man of action.

*

We ought not to be afraid of sincerity: only the hidden is tremendous.

*

Rascals have made it the fashion to laugh at those who object to being rascals.

*

A virtuous policy is the only useful and lasting one.

*

To postpone is not to settle. If an evil exists, it is not remedied by letting it accumulate. The crime, the crime of permitting it, always causes bloodshed.

Bread can not be given to all those who are in need of it, but the peoples that wish to save themselves must train their children against crime.

*

A city is culpable as long as not all of it is a school; the street that is not a school is a stain upon the brow of a city.

*

The service of teachers ought to be compulsory, like that of soldiers.

*

It is necessary, every now and then, to shake the world in order that what is rotten may fall to earth.

*

All the religions have sprung from the same roots, have worshipped the same images, have prospered by the same virtues and have become corrupt through the same vices.

*

Wherever there shines a sincere soul, men congregate and follow in its path, as the herd after the leader.

*

Truth is more clearly revealed to the poor and to those who suffer.

*

Religion, always false as dogma, is, to the eye of the discerning, eternally true as poetry.

*

There are men who are designed to guide without self-interest, to suffer for others, to be consumed while illuminating.

*

Only he serves liberty well who, at the risk of being taken for its enemy, preserves it without trembling before those who compromise it by their mistakes.

*

Great oppressions generate great rebels.

*

Once evil is recognized, the generous soul goes forth to seek the remedy; once the peaceful recourse is exhausted, the generous mind, in which sorrow for others gnaws like a worm in a live sore, hastens to the violent remedy.

*

Those who have thee, O liberty, know thee not. Those who have thee not, ought not to speak of thee, but to win thee.

Always what is imposed is vain, and
what is free vivifying.

A grain of poetry seasons a century.

The habit of mastery gives to the coun-
tenances of sculptors an air of triumph
and rebellion.

Never, without profound suffering, did
a man produce a truly beautiful work.

Who feels more the absence of a blessing
than he who has had it and lost it?

Those who do not believe in immor-
tality believe in history.

The lack of proportion seems to be
indispensable to greatness.

Like a mountain, the life of the man who
endures must be sylvestral, matted: here
a crypt, there an oak, yonder a creeper:
inexact, abrupt, rugged.

The impassioned are the progenitors of
the world.

The strong overcome passion; but in
proportion as they succeed in extinguishing
it, they cease to be strong.

Even to be just, one needs to be a little
unjust.

The justice of a cause is oftentimes
tarnished by ignorance and excess in the
method of pushing it.

On a man or a woman, only those clothes
are beautiful which follow the human lines.

Man bears in himself what destroys
him, that is, self-interest; and what re-
deems him, that is, sentiment.

People with money, the church and the
army concern themselves more with ac-
cumulating the means of attack against
the lowly who are climbing up, than in
abating the anger of such by applying an
honorable remedy to their legitimate re-
sentment.

In politics one can be sincere and honest,
once in a while.

He is worthy of heaven who tries to scale
it.

Every man carries with him the duty
of adding, controlling, revealing.

Egotism exalts peoples, and wrecks them.

The art of writing: does it not consist in
reducing?

Liberty ought now to have its own
architecture.

All courtesy is beautiful, and these
sweet deceptions do no harm.

In a mere soldier, rapine may be nat-
ural; but every attack upon law, in
our own country or in another's, on the
part of the man of thought, is a crime.

Character dominates.

Eloquence shines.

He only is worthy to govern peoples
who has fewer foibles than they.

Presidents exist to unite, not to divide.

A man is in a bad way when his heart
does not leap at reading about or witnessing
an heroic act.

Pain is the soul of glory.

What are the advancements of science
for, except to bring peace among men?

In order to know a people it is necessary
to study it under all its aspects and ex-
pressions: in its materialities, in its ten-
dencies, in its apostles, in its poets and
in its bandits.

There are men who live content although
they live without decorum. There are
others who suffer something like an agony
when they see men about them live without
decorum.

Above races, which have no influence except on the character, is the essential human spirit, which mingles and unifies them.

*

A man's modesty is in his mind, and he ought to reach the age of eighty with it untarnished.

*

To reproduce is not to create, and to create is man's duty.

*

The sincere word flies, like a decorous girl, from venal dining-rooms.

*

As defeat consumes, success strengthens.

*

In architecture, as in all the arts, the surest way to kill the effect is to oversee it.

*

A boy ought to work, walk, study, be strong, be beautiful: a boy can make himself handsome, although he be ugly; a good, intelligent, neat boy is always handsome.

*

Girls ought to know, the same as boys, in order to be able to talk with them as friends when they grow up.

*

The men who fight to make their country free often make their bodies beautiful.

*

Liberty is the right that every man has to be honest, and to think and speak without hypocrisy.

*

A man who hides what he thinks or who dares not say what he thinks, is not an honorable man.

*

A man who obeys a bad government, without working to make his government good, is not an honorable man.

*

There are men who are worse than beasts, for beasts must be free in order to be happy: the elephant does not like to bear young when it lives in captivity; the llama of Perú throws itself upon the ground and dies when the Indian speaks to it harshly or puts on it a heavier pack than it can bear. A man ought to be at least as decorous as an elephant or a llama.

A man who is content to obey unjust laws, and who permits men who ill-use the country wherein he was born to tread it, is not an honorable man.

*

The boy who does not think about what is taking place around him and is content to live, without knowing that he is living honorably, is like a man who lives by the work of a scoundrel and is in the way of becoming a scoundrel.

*

In the world there must be a certain amount of decorum, as there must be a certain quantity of light.

*

Men can not be more perfect than the sun. The sun burns with the same light with which it heats. The sun has spots. The ungrateful speak only of the spots. The grateful speak of the light.

*

These are heroes: those who fight to make peoples free or those who suffer in poverty and misery to defend a great truth.

*

Those who fight for ambition, to enslave other peoples, to win greater authority or to take away the lands of another people, are not heroes, but criminals.

*

A sculptor is admirable because he draws a form out of the massy stone; but those who make peoples are more than men.

*

Force is not sufficient for everything.

*

All rascals are false.

*

Peoples, the same as children, need, from time to time, to do something like running a great deal, laughing a great deal and shouting and jumping.

*

In life one can not do all he wishes, and what he goes without doing comes out, from time to time, as a burst of folly.

*

Superstition and ignorance render the men of all nations barbarous.

*

The world has more young men than old men.

Verses ought not to be made in order to say that one is happy or that he is sad, but in order to be useful to the world.

*

Every human being carries within him an ideal self, just as every block of marble contains in mass a statue, as beautiful as that which the Greek Praxiteles made of the god Apollo.

*

Education begins with life and it is not completed until death.

*

The originality and energy of every man may be seen from infancy, in an act, in an idea, in a look.

*

The force of genius does not end with youth.

*

No one ought to die as long as he is of any use.

*

Men are wont to admire the man of virtue as long as he does not shame them by his virtue or interfere with their selfish gains.

*

Good deeds ought to be done without calling upon the universe to behold one pass by.

*

Men ought to learn everything for themselves, and not believe without inquiring or speak without understanding, or think, like slaves, what others order them to think.

*

He is presumptuous who thinks he is wiser than nature.

*

Peoples who tire of defending themselves and by drawing, like beasts, the carts of their masters.

*

One can not fight with a lance against bullets.

*

Life is not a man's property, but a loan made to him by nature.

*

• All life is full of pain; and pain comes from desiring; and in order to live without pain it is necessary to live without desire.

A man ought not to rest until he understands everything he sees.

*

A woman is like a flower, and she must be treated like one, with great care and affection, because if she is ill-treated, she dies soon, like a flower.

*

There are foolish people, and they are those who say that nothing is true except what is seen with the eye.

*

What is the good of thinking without working, of speaking without doing, of desiring without willing?

*

What avails it to hate the tyrant and live under his shadow and at his table?

*

The most of a man and the best is usually that in him which is only seen rightly by those who, like him, suffer and strive.

*

The people, unjust in anger or appetite, credulous in their hours of desire, are infallible in the long-run.

*

Some are in the world to undermine, and others are here to build up.

*

The battle is continuous between the genus mason and the genus rodent.

*

When, with his heart pierced through by thorns, a man loves in the world the very ones who deny him, that man is epic.

*

To honor one's country is a way of fighting for it.

*

Unite: this is the word for the world.

*

The danger of training children outside of their country is almost as great as the necessity, among immature and unhappy peoples, of educating them where they will acquire the knowledge necessary for the broadening of their growing country or where their character will not be poisoned by the routine of turbid teaching and morality into which, from the listlessness and idleness of servitude, the peoples that suffer from slavery are wont to fall.

Great is the danger of educating children abroad, because only from parents comes the constant tenderness with which the young flower must be watered, and that ceaseless mingling of authority and affection, which are not effective, on account of the very justness and arrogance of our nature, except when the two are united in the same person.

*

It is not necessary to raise oranges, to grow them in Norway; or apples, that they may bear fruit in Ecuador; but that in the transported tree there shall be preserved the native juice; so that, upon its return to its own corner, it may take root.

*

The nature of man is identical throughout the universe, and he who supposes the man of the north incapable of the virtues of the man of the south errs as much as he of narrow heart who believes that the man of the south is lacking in any whatsoever of the essential qualities of the man of the north.

*

The design of education is not to make a man null through disdain or impossibility of accommodation to the country in which he must live, but to prepare him for a good and useful life in it.

*

Men are united by vice or virtue.

Superiority in number and size, because of antecedents and opportunities, creates in prosperous peoples a disdain of the nations that contend in an unequal struggle, with fewer and different elements of success.

*

The training of a boy, who comes from a minor nation, among a people of opposite character and greater wealth may arouse in him a fatal opposition to his native land, where he is to use his education—or the worst and most shameful of human calamities, disdain of his own people—if, in nurturing him in knowledge and customs that are unknown or badly developed in the country of his birth, he be not trained with unremitting care in what relates to it, and in love and respect for the country in which he is to live.

*

What is important in poetry is to feel, whether what we feel has been felt by another or not; for what we feel anew is new.

*

Men are always falling, it is true, but they behold one who is walking firmly, and, from very shame, they follow him, holding themselves erect.

*

Love the disinterested and enthusiastic man.



NATIONAL RESERVE PARKS IN ARGENTINA

BY
CLEMENTE ONELLI

The director of the *jardín Zoológico* of Buenos Aires, moved by patriotic prevision, calls attention, first, to the numerous, excellent and easy opportunities that exist at present in his country for the establishment of national reservations; he points out the rapid destruction and threatened extinction of the fauna; and he then makes a plea for legislation that will insure the preservation of existing species and the exploitation of such of them as are fur-bearing and meat-producing; while at the same time he incidentally sheds light on regional types of animals and on human customs.—THE EDITOR.

IT IS a strange fact in nature (yet perhaps not so strange): the diminution of maritime tonnage tends to restore the equilibrium that nature herself seeks with all her power, even with cataclysms, and which man with ceaseless perseverance tries continually to alter.

This enormous lack of vessels, for the freightage of articles of prime necessity, has removed from our southern seas the fishing fleets that transported to Europe and North America tens of thousands of tons of oil obtained by the slaughter of hundreds and hundreds of whales, thousands and thousands of seals and hundreds of thousands of penguins.

It will soon be two years now since the idyls of the gigantic Antarctic maritime fauna were disturbed, since the three species of seals brought forth tranquilly upon the rookeries of the Argentine coast and since any one hurled toward the abrupt precipices, as from the Tarpeian rock, those bird-children precipitated downward, where a gang of *peones* finished them with a clean stroke of the club.

It is now going on two years since the autoclaves, that distilled every hour the animal fat of eight hundred penguins at once, ceased to be in operation, and since the salting yards of seal-skins near the rookeries, where millions of gulls kept feast upon the remains of the flesh expressed from the grease, became deserted: for the gull has returned to its shell-fish of other years, and the floating bergs, sinister mountains of ice, that sail silently through the frigid mists of the south, no longer give back the echo of the shot of the dwarf cannon, wont to carry behind its captive

ball the harpoon and the cable that pierce meters deep in the body of the whale.

Maritime freight is very scarce and fishing vessels no longer come to our seas, each of them to load its hold with two or three hundred thousand dollars' worth of animal oils.

It must therefore be the moment when, without woundingsusceptibilities and without fear of diplomatic complications (it is known that all this enormous wealth of the Argentine seas is exploited by foreign fishing vessels and without any profit to the country, and, indeed, with great injury)—the moment when the exchequer should concern itself with the wealth represented by the maritime herds, and should decree the prohibition of hunting, which could be made effective by the vigilance of the small vessels of the fleet, and by the schoolship itself, which, by frequenting the almost unknown seas of the south and the slightly frequented coasts, would afford a fine practice in seamanship.

We find, lost in the European statistics of 1914, that in that year there reached the several ports of northern Europe forty-five thousand tons of animal oil brought from the southern seas, and, says the bulletin: "from the sphere of Argentine influence." It states that from the Kergulen islands, a French possession (?) in the southern seas, was extracted, in that year, forty-five hundred tons of oil. Well then; on the basis of this latter information regarding an insignificant quantity of oil, and in spite of the preoccupations of the war, certain deputies have prepared and presented a bill in which it is asked that the French government declare the

Kergulen islands a national park of the southern seas, with the absolute prohibition of hunting, in order that there may be no extinction of the penguins and marine elephants, which, in our sphere of influence, as it were, frequent those remote islands to the south of the Indian ocean.

Why does not the exchequer set apart, as national marine parks, some of the rookeries of Chubut, Santa Cruz, Tierra del Fuego, Orcadas and the South Shetlands?

It might be done, in order to extend, by eight or ten years more, this period of waiting initiated by the war. By this means would be restored the equilibrium of a source of wealth that is disappearing, and that one or two generations have not the right to exploit and destroy completely; for this is the thought of modern sociology; in theory, it is true, but some one ought to try to put it into practice.

In the case of Argentina there are still reasons of greater weight, because this exploitation and destruction, as I have said, is of no benefit to the country, but to foreigners, who at times make their contraband catch along our coasts, and at others, among the more remote islands, considering them as *res nullius*.

This law of reservations as national maritime parks does not imply the absolute prohibition of marine catching, like the existing law, and of which it is so easy to make light. These reservations are, so to speak, zones of refuge, where animals, persecuted elsewhere, may take refuge in peace. Fiscalized, regulated catching, such as will pay a tax on the wealth exploited, can, and ought to, be carried on in other places.

Only thus can be preserved for the coming generations the wealth that will serve as an inducement, to the end that the country, which has so extended a coast, may come to possess a greater number of maritime cities engaged in the life and activities of the sea, which is a most powerful factor of prosperity.

While we are on the subject of national reserve parks, it occurs to us to recall the little that has been done in this country with regard to them. It is true that, with

so much uninhabited land, the national reserves apparently consist of the waste fields themselves, whether they be private estates or whether the property of the government; but two powerful motives unite to persuade us that it is easier now to set apart great national reservations, in unsettled regions, than later, when they are populated, and when the law would involve a grave disturbance for the settler and the necessary expropriation, a drain upon the treasury. Besides, it is well known that the fiscal zones are considered by all as the property of the first occupant, who exploits them to his heart's content, whether in cattle-raising, prospecting for metals, felling and destroying the forests or in hunting game. The wilderness, the forests and the great prairies of the European colonies in Africa, may certainly be considered somewhat like the government properties of Argentina; nevertheless, since, in recent years, hunters have begun to frequent those regions, and that only for sport, the respective governments, in face of the danger of destroying or diminishing the fauna of the regions, have established rigorous laws by which hunting has, in general, been prohibited. Individual permits are granted to hunters, permits that stipulate the number of head of each species which may be sacrificed by a given hunting party. Not even Roosevelt obtained *carte blanche* in the regions of Africa through which he went to exercise his powers as a hunter. The English representative was generous, it seems, as he went so far as to grant a dozen or so antelopes, ten moose, two zebras, a hippopotamus and a rhinoceros. It is true "Teddy" gave himself a free hand with the antelopes, but he did not get a shot at either a rhinoceros or a hippopotamus. There, because, on the one hand, of the method of enforcing the law, and, on the other, of the unavoidable necessity of passing near the residence of the authorities, in order to reach or leave the wilderness, they exact that the law be observed. Here, nothing of the kind occurs: the government, for example, at a given moment and for other reasons, which have nothing to do with national parks, establishes as national reserves great zones

in the Patagonian pre-cordillera. All this means simply that these lands are not for sale at present, but the cattle pasture, the sheep strip, the marauders of the wilderness set fire to the fields and the Indians engage in the slaughter of guanacos, ostriches and the rest of the fauna.

It may be said that the forests of the Patagonian Andes are all reserved by the government, which has, in this extensive region, four or five forest inspectors, with a score or so of foresters. When a scrupulous inspector is investigating, for example, at point A, he makes out, at a distance of, say, ten leagues, at point B, a great smoke. He arrives the following day; flames have begun to fly; and the wind, which blows down from the mountains, and is carrying along a whirlwind of sparks, smoke and waves of unbearable heat, holds him at a respectable distance. He then entertains himself, in compliance with his duty, by seeking, to windward, some fresh track of a saddle animal that may indicate to him the trail of the incendiary. He thinks he has it; but a little later he becomes convinced that he is on the track of his own mule and that of the watchman who accompanies him. Finally, he reaches the point where all the work animals of the neighboring settlers are mingled together. At the camp-fire of the ranches of the wilderness fancy is given free rein: someone noted, a few days before, that a missionary passed; another, at a distance, saw troops on the march, bearing toward Chile; another, not long before, had seen a camp-fire poorly extinguished, on the side of the mountain; another swears that he saw a Chilean *roto*¹ get off his horse for a long time in an opening in the forest; and another, perhaps the most scientific or perhaps the greatest quizzer, avows that it was the lightning, which, during a storm or an exhalation, he saw flash, just as the morning-star was rising over the plains.

The inquiry turns out a devilish failure, and on the following day, when on the way now to the remote telegraph station, to report the occurrence to his superior in Buenos Aires, the inspector sees off toward

the south, at point C, twelve leagues or so away, a great smoke, which arises toward the zenith, hardly bowing its crest before the fury of the southwester. His mount is not longer equal to going to make sure that the flames are growing violent, as in the conflagration further north, or to ascertain whether it be the track of the incendiary, or whether missionaries passed or troops or Chilean *rotos*, or perchance some bolt or exhalation came from above. At the slow gait of his creeping and exhausted beasts, he may be able to reach at length the telegraph office, within a week, or may be, a month, to give an account of the fire and of his honorable and futile efforts to comply with his duty, being always certain of one thing, that the fire is sure to keep on raging until the first heavy snowfalls of winter.

It is thus that leagues and leagues of magnificent forests have been destroyed, from the region of Nahuel-Huapí to the Chubut and Santa Cruz, by fires, which, if they do not disturb the government very much, still less do they distress the settlers, above all, the squatters of the region: for they know that among the forests burnt over by fire, the next year abundant pasturage will begin to grow, and that the cattle become fatter there, above all, if they are mavericks.

These forests, however, are not set apart as reserves, nor can it be claimed that the almost desolate region should have, distributed along the edge and in the interior of the forest, an army of inspectors to watch it. Nevertheless, there is one established national park, and another is projected by the government to maintain inviolate the stupendous landscapes, relatively small zones, where is not exercised the vigilance necessary to preserve them. In the regions of Nahuel-Huapí, Francisco P. Moreno, the never-to-be-forgotten expert in boundaries, returned, of the government lands that he received as a gift, certain of them that they might serve as a nucleus for a great national park. Among them also, from time to time, serpentine the fire of incendiaries, and there, in many places, thick marshes, hemmed in by the mountains, reflect only the half burnt trunks of trees, while in others the moun-

¹See INTER-AMERICA, number of April, 1918, page 213, foot-note.—THE EDITOR.

tain is stripped of its green cloak and it begins to show its dun-colored vertebrae of granite.

The other national park is projected in Misiones, in the region that surrounds the cascades of the Iguazú. This stupendous spectacle of the Iguazú, more imposing even than the Niagara, was known only by name. The exuberant vegetation, the creepers, the thorny shrubs, in short, the whole jungle of the subtropical climate, made this magnificent panorama almost inaccessible from the Argentine side. It was a journey for expert explorers. A lady wished to know one of the beauties of her land; by her energy she succeeded; but it is related that her compatriots, excellent tourists in other parts of the world, overcame with difficulty the obstacles of what was a veritable expedition, and opened at their expense, a long road, broad and magnificent, which the gratitude of Misiones christened with the name of "road of Aguirre." For a performance of this kind, the government must needs make return by establishing as a national park the jewel, which until now, has remained invisible. To-day, international tourists' agencies organize expeditions to this spot: Cook, a few months before the war, brought the Blücher to Buenos Aires, so as to transport his five hundred rich North Americans to the cascades of the Iguazú.

Fortunately, this region is a terminal point: no national roads center there. The indigenes disappeared with the destruction of the Jesuit missions. The place is, on both sides, a genuine wilderness; the penetration of the forests is so disagreeable that the future national park, although not guarded, still remains intact; and perhaps, on account of the wildness of the virgin tropical forests, which at certain seasons would need from these hypothetical foresters, a blow of the ax, a pick to drain the marshes that form from time to time; in short, those most fundamental attentions required by a region deemed to be one of the most marvelous in America.

As to the conservation of the fauna: what has been done in the country to preserve the autochthonous and exclusive

types? Very little, certainly, because of the same idea that in a country so extensive and one that is so limited in population, protective laws are not yet needed.

The beavers, in spite of their being so prolific, good rodents as they are, have diminished very greatly; and, at a not very remote time, they will become extinct, like the castors of France. The river-hog,² the leather of which has the same valuable qualities as the skin of the swine and, besides, an insuperable excellence—the softness of a glove—now almost no longer exists on the islands of the Delta, and has also diminished, we are told, in Entre Ríos, Corrientes and Paraguay. The ostrich is going the same way: in the provinces of the north, the present generation no longer knows that the Quichua name *suri* means ostrich, because it has already disappeared. In the littoral and central provinces the ostrich is preserved as a curiosity in some *estancias*,³ and its indigenous name of *ñandú* has not yet vanished, because the nomenclature of the text-books of primary instruction preserves it traditionally.

The guanaco, which yields excellent wool and supplies magnificent leather for the manufacturer of calf-skin, and which produces about sixty kilograms of wholesome and savory meat, like the good ruminant that it is, has disappeared from all the provinces, with the exception of a slender herd here and there that frequents the most sterile and least frequented mountains of the Andine provinces, in the territories of the south, where it is still very common, because it jumps the wire fences of the Australian type, eighty centimeters high. It was in danger of dying out. The settlers upon these great ranges, who paid originally less than a peso the hectare for their vast stretches of land, formally addressed the government, requesting that the guanacos, with their wool, their leather and their sixty kilograms of meat, be declared a national pest, like the locust. They prepared, for the agricultural defense, a magnificent

²The Spanish is *carpincho* (*Hydrocheras capibuaru*).
—THE EDITOR.

³See INTER-AMERICA, number of April, 1918, page 211, foot-note.—THE EDITOR.

program of sensational hunts *au gros gibier*; and, on the arsenal of war they spent a period of feverish activity in the manufacture of munitions; for the guanacos, if they were harried to their homes in the wilds, were probably millions, and more probably the employees of the defense would have made a great botch of it as marksmen. By good luck, the petition was not presented to the government via the office of the agricultural defense, as both judge and jury would probably have yielded to the extraordinary caprice of the settlers of the south. The case came before the division of cattle, where it did not prosper.

The guanaco, however, has its existence assured for a long series of years. A basaltic tableland, all covered with sharp and angular scoria, extends for many leagues to the north of the río Chico in Santa Cruz, and no one ever goes there on horseback or in an automobile. It is a great national reserve park, which nature has wisely decreed for the preservation of the guanaco. There, on high, only the puma now and then fleshes himself, and only the condors that live above the black crags of basalt enjoy the remains of those sanguinary feasts. When the *frigoríficos*⁴ are refrigerating the last steers to feed the world, the creole, saying to himself between his teeth: "back to what you grew up on," will climb from all sides to the sheer and rugged fastnesses, strategically call into play a good number of machine-guns; and the train that awaits him in the lowland will carry off, under all steam, the products of the chase to the ports of Santa Cruz, San Julián and Deseado, where will be waiting, with all their fires going, cold-storage ships to carry to the hungry market of Buenos Aires the meat of the good guanaco.

It is not unlikely or impossible—we may say it in the ear of the reader, if he is one who can keep a secret—that the Patagonian *frigoríficos*, when they send refrigerated legs of lamb to Europe, mix in, once in a while, a few quarters of guanaco. To tell the truth, between eating the meat

of the capon every day and the meat of the guanaco every day, the latter is infinitely superior, from the fact that it has no characteristic taste of any kind.

Let us continue, however, with the fauna: our fox, of the four commoner Argentine species, is certainly not an animal with fine and luxurious enough fur to have established for it national reserves where it can live in quiet and reproduce prolifically. Nevertheless, the skins of the large species, known as the Tierra del Fuego fox, which are fashionable as a good imitation of the *renard du Labrador*, were worth in the south five pesos; to-day they are quoted at forty pesos on account of their scarcity. The little *gulpejo*⁵ fox is no longer quoted, except for museum collections, as it has now almost disappeared; the northern fox, called in Quichua, *maiu-atoj*, is, up to the present, the only one that escapes, as its coarse and bristly fur has not yet been accepted by fashion; but its turn will come. In the meanwhile, the common fox of the provinces, formerly hunted merely as a sport and as an exercise of the dogs of the *estancia*, has greatly diminished, to the vast pleasure of the farmers, because these foxes would be very destructive gnawers, if they began to let their presence and numbers be felt by fouling the wheat shocks and making inroads upon the grain.

The gray foxes of Patagonia, so extraordinarily abundant a few years ago, are now remarkably rare, above all, since the outbreak of the war. Formerly, they had a place in the stocks of the furriers who supplied cheap skins, but now, owing to the abundant nap which these pelts have under their fur, they have been much sought for, to send to the soldiers of the different fronts as a covering.

In the territory of the río Negro, a region very near the market and relatively more densely populated, the gray fox has been persecuted so much that it is now difficult to come on one. In its place has appeared a new pest, of which complaint is made and against which the dwellers of the region have appealed to the government for aid: that of wild-cats. They have multiplied

⁴Cold-storage or refrigerating warehouses: a term now in general use throughout South America.—THE EDITOR.

⁵An obscure reference: probably *Canis Vulpes*.—THE EDITOR.

to such a degree that they constitute as great a danger to the flocks as the puma was in other days. They kill great numbers of young lambs, as, owing to their abundance, these cats are not able to keep themselves supplied with food by hunting the small and but slightly abundant beasts and birds of the territory. This circumstance is natural, as a consequence of the altered equilibrium caused by the destruction of the foxes. So the cats, tranquil, with one competitor less at the banquet of life, have prospered; and, as their disposition is more aggressive than that of the fox, and as, in case of a dearth of viands, they are not satisfied to gnaw *guascas*⁶ like the fox, they trample upon the sacrosanct rights of man, who had previously trodden upon the fox's right to life; and man now feels the consequences of the disequilibrium he has created.

Good sense is opposed to the idea that the government should establish national reserve parks for these creatures of the lesser fauna; but there can be no doubt that we ought to favor the few specimens that turn up, or attempt officially, by means of the respective technical distributions, to create small inclosures, watched over and provided with food, where the gray fox might again increase, and above all, that we ought to begin now the rational exploitation of the pelts of the Argentine fox, which unquestionably supplies a third of the material used for the manufacture of skunk pelts.

The animals, however, that really deserve careful and effective protection, with

a view to increasing reproduction, are the chinchillas of the puna. Hunting the chinchilla is, indeed, rigidly prohibited in the statutes, and the laws are certainly not violated in sight of the national authorities charged with their enforcement; but the territory is large and mostly uninhabited, the Bolivian and Chilean frontiers are entirely open, and they favor the clever devices of the *chinchillero*, who hunts in Argentina, passes to Bolivia or Chile, and enters Argentina again by another road with pelts he claims to be of Chilean or Bolivian origin. The comedy has been repeated for years without any legal remedy to prevent it. The new governor of the Andes, señor M. Torino, knows this, and he is redoubling his vigilance, as far as it can be effective with so few wardens and thousands of square leagues of surface. The royal chinchilla is now extremely scarce (it has supplied to the happy ladies of the plutocracy of the world thousands and thousands of skins), but the governor of the Andes will not admit defeat. He desires to recreate for the country this source of wealth, this rarity which we share with the bordering republics. He is now attempting to secure from the national government the necessary decree to permit him to develop in the territory, in a relatively limited region, where vigilance would therefore be possible, a great national reserve park, in which could be maintained the necessary nurseries for restocking the country with this little animal, which is so precious and is in a fair way to disappear.

We trust that he will be successful in his far-sighted enterprise.

⁶A tropical and subtropical plant of South America.

—THE EDITOR.



THE UNITED STATES AS SEEN BY A SPANIARD

BY

MIGUEL DE ZÁRRAGA

A traveled Spaniard's sprightly appraisal of the United States. It will please us, even if it puts us somewhat to the blush. Although first published in a New York magazine, it was reproduced in Argentina with evident approval; whence its international significance, as it may serve to offset somewhat the generally disseminated and biased misinformation not infrequently circulated abroad regarding the land of the "Yankees."—THE EDITOR.

THE first time I ever heard the name of the United States was in a school in Tarragona, in the heart of Cataluña, whose inhabitants are called, in the land of Castilla, "the Yankees of Spain." Cataluña is the region of Spain where people work hardest and most intelligently; it is also the most progressive. Democratic to a high degree, in spite of its traditions of servile respect for the "master,"—and, for his children, the father also has been such—its apparent rudeness of speech and manners seems somewhat exotic to Castilian observers. Between Castilla and Cataluña there is as great a spiritual distance as between Madrid and New York. In Spain, however, is comprised something besides Cataluña and Castilla: there are to be found, above all, the lordly and hard-working Basque provinces, among the richest and best cultivated of the kingdom; the poetic and fertile regions of Galicia and Asturias, whose excess of population emigrates and flourishes in half the world; the multiple Andalucía, abounding in spots of enchantment; the noble Aragón and legendary Navarra; Laón, Valencia, Murcia, Extremadura.

A Castilian gentleman "opens the furrow, sows and plows; he sings and harvests, threshes, grinds the wheat at his water-mills, cooks the bread in his ovens, takes good care of his money, but he never forgets his glories." As the poet says, the soil he wounds is sacred soil: the Castilian lives upon the immense sepulchre of his history. The austerity of the landscape, which is hardly more

than a toasted plain from which rise a few hardy mountain oaks, is the mirror of the men of Castilla, hard also and strong like them.

I said that I—a son of Castilla the august—heard for the first time the name of the United States in a school in Tarragona. I was a young boy; I had barely completed my nine years; and I was getting ready to enter the institute.¹ My teacher asked me one morning, during the lesson in geography:

"What do you know about the United States?"

"The . . . the United States . . . the United States."

And I, not knowing how to express to him what I knew in a better way, added, ashamed that I did not know more:

"The United States is . . . the greatest country in the world, where everything is invented, and where the most extraordinary things happen. . . ."

The master burst into laughter; ingenuously, and with a brusque transition, he changed his tone to say to me, by way of reproof:

"The United States is not that. Study the lesson better, as you will have to repeat it to me to-morrow; and never forget that the greatest country, for you, ought always to be your own."

I did not understand him well, at that time, and I kept thinking that in Pontevedra, a few months before, and for a period of several days, my childish intelligence had been set wondering twice: when I

¹A secondary school, corresponding to the high school or the higher grades of the grammar school of the United States.—THE EDITOR.

heard a phonograph in the house of the governor, and when I witnessed the installation of the electric light system for the public service. . . . These things, which seemed to be witches' tricks, were inventions of the United States, as were also the lightning-rod, the telegraph, the electric locomotive, the telephone. The land of magic! That was the United States!

Some years later, in Málaga, while I was a student at the institute, I learned one day that my companions had agreed that we should not go to our classes. Why? Because the United States had recognized the Cubans as belligerents. We did not go to the classes, and we did go—as an act of heroism—to the North American consulate . . . to stone it.

However, what did we know about what this act of the United States meant in behalf of justice? In the newspapers we had read that the United States desired to take possession of Cuba, and we thought, on this account, that it was aiding the insurgents. This, according to the newspapers, could not be permitted. The rulers, saving a few honorable exceptions, held the same opinion as the newspapers: the United States was trying to wrest Cuba from us. It did not occur to us then to think that it was we ourselves, and as the result of our mistakes, who were losing it! The only persons who did not seem to agree, either with the rulers or with the newspapers, were our poor mothers. Cuba presented itself to their imaginations as an enormous pit in common, in which, as the victims of yellow-fever, their unhappy sons were dropping. When, in the draft at the headquarters, the "black ball" came up for a soldier, that black ball meant Cuba. How many mothers cursed this name!

All Spain arose in hostile manifestations against the "Yankees," those whom we called the "pork-packers" and some other names even more contemptuous. We sang the march *Cádiz*; we sent forth a good number of hurrahs and an equal number of "To deaths"; and we set ourselves to comparing our military and naval forces with the military and naval forces of the United States. The news-

papers published, in double column, the most fantastic statistical data, illustrating them with absurd graphic notes, in which the Spanish squadron was set out side by side with the North American squadron . . . and they assured us of the remarkable superiority of the former, which they proclaimed invincible. Through ignorance? Through falsehood? Because of both (or so I think); but it is true that the poor Spanish people had to go blindly into a war, for them a most bootless affair, which their rulers ought opportunely to have avoided, with a little more prevision and a little more justice.

The result was the disaster of 1898, in which Spain lost, to her own good fortune, all her colonies. Spanish mothers let a sigh of satisfaction escape. What did it matter to them if a few protégés of the ultramarine ministry would have to abstain from the legalized speculation to which they were accustomed from the most remote colonial times? No one, of course, can be ignorant of the excellent qualities of the colonial work of Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even during the eighteenth; but the nineteenth came, and a material and moral decline began. Continental America freed, there still remained Cuba. For what? To Cuba only soldiers went: those who had nothing to lose and perhaps much to gain; some, very few, deluded; and the ruler who governed in turn. If he arrived with good intentions, he might as well at once begin to prepare his luggage for his return to Spain; for if he was to be an accomplice without scruples, little good would he do for Cuba . . . and less for Spain. This, from the Spanish point of view.

From the Cuban point of view, no one could doubt that the "Pearl of the Caribbean," having achieved a civilization not far inferior to the sister countries formed into republics during the previous century, had the right to be free and independent. (It would not have been necessary that it should be so, if Spain had proceeded with her as England proceeded, for example, with Canada.)

From the point of view of the United States, how was it possible not to com-

prehend its doctrines and its ideals? Geographical position is the historic reason of greatest weight. If the Balearic islands were in the possession of the North Americans, and the Mallorcans had risen against their mother-country, would it not be logical for Spain to take the side of her neighbors?

Let us not digress, in discussing what might or might not have occurred. Accomplished facts must be accepted as they are, not as we could wish they had been.

The truth is that, for one reason or another, Spain became an enemy of the United States. The war separated the two peoples. This occurred twenty years ago: now they are friends, and another war—the one that envelops the world—may unite them even more.

Why not? France and England were mortal enemies of each other. So were England and the United States. So also, one of another, were all the countries that to-day are called Allies, and together are pouring out their blood in the struggle against Germany.

Spain and the United States will draw more closely the bonds of their friendship day by day, their respective interests, which are in no way opposed, serving to strengthen regard.

The war of 1898—setting aside the problem of Cuba—was not sterile in its international results. It at least enabled those of Spain to know, or to begin to know, what the United States is, and to enable the United States to appreciate Spain a little more. Thenceforth, in New York, doors were opened to our painters, our musicians, our men of letters, our singers, and for all of them there has been a favorable reception.

I reached the United States—already a good many years ago—bringing with me all the prejudices which my countrymen harbor traditionally. I thought I should find myself in an environment, antipathetic, hostile or strange to my customs and tastes. Nevertheless, I was inclined once more to be an optimist. Accustomed to living in different foreign countries, both in America and Europe, I had nothing to dread at being in another of them.

What had I to fear? I did not delay in becoming convinced that in the United States no one is a stranger. I felt as if I were in my own country; in a very large country, capable of holding us all. Here, anybody is nobody, and anybody may become anything. This is the land of possibilities and surprises. It is the country in which a man always feels himself to be a man, and he owes everything to himself: to his own personal and sovereign effort.

As soon as we enter the United States, certain truly tutelary laws protect us and keep watch over us. We are supplied with schools, libraries, museums—the best schools and the best museums in the world—without their costing us a cent. Here one can learn gratuitously all he desires, and any moment is timely. It is never too late.

For the United States, the present does not exist. It might almost be said that the present for this immense people, which moves so fast, is the future for the rest of the peoples.

The North American, always moving, leads, by at least half a century, the vanguard of the races of the world. In order that this distance may not be shortened, he never rests. Every man of this country lives his own life over several times. Thus, the same man, at his different stages, is poor and rich, slave and master, in misery and all-powerful, and he is something greater still: he is always a man.

To be a man, with the full consciousness of what he can do and of what he is worth: few men can be this. The North American, can, however. This is his strength. Free of prejudices, practical at every moment, just, almost always, North Americans have done, in a single century, for the renovation of the world, what the rest of the world could not do in many centuries. They are great, they are strong, they are admirable. Without defects? No; they are men!

The might of America is incarnate in them. The stars of their flag are the light-houses of the world: a constellation of suns that illuminates two seas, united by them in that marvel and prodigy of the imagination, called the Panamá canal!

This Titanic work would not have been possible without the unshakable will of the North Americans: a will all optimism, which is the soul of this conscious people, in which men and women are equal for strife and for victory. Education places them upon the same level. Girls and boys study and play together, there being wiped out for both, as if there existed no difference, all notion of sex. Being together, always together, girls and boys look upon themselves as equals. Malice stands aloof. The boy learns in the meanwhile respect for womanhood; the girl, that she is now a woman. As she is so, as she must be so, as she was born to be so, the girl learns something more: she knows . . . all that ought to be taught to one who is born to be a wife and mother and educate new men. That innocence is thus lost? Innocence perchance; but not virtue. A woman will always be worth more from being virtuous rather than from being innocent.

Her companion, the one who will have to be her companion during all her life, wisely educated in the purest habits (compatible, although something different is believed, with all the precocities of modern times), grows up a stranger to the vices which, in other countries, corrode youth, and he then advances, up to fifty or sixty years, with all the vigor of a well regulated and honorable life. He does not waste his brains in stupid pleasures, nor does he undermine his constitution by unbridled excesses. The North American youth is a man "in his day" . . . and in more than his day. His life does not anticipate age. The more he prolongs his childhood, the more he prolongs his youth, so much the more does he extend his life during "mature age."

These are the men who have made the North American republic great. If now we associate with the United States, Cuba—the Cuba lost by Spain, and which the United States did not seek to retain

possession of—how much shall we not be surprised to behold her converted into an ideal country, where no one is any longer sick with yellow-fever, where the most scrupulous material and moral hygiene was applied for the good of all. Spaniards can now visit it without fear of the black vomit, and their mothers can remain in tranquillity on the other side of the Atlantic. The miracle was wrought by the United States.

If now we pass from Cuba to Panamá—where the same yellow-fever made the isthmus uninhabitable—we shall be equally astonished by the sight of another beautiful land, whose sanitary condition is as good as that of any region of the United States.

Something similar might be observed in Santo Domingo, as also in the Mexican city of Veracruz during the recent occupation: the Yankees carry health about with them.

Such is the lesson I could now recite to my master of Tarragona, if he should ask me what I know about the United States, the country of fabulous wealth, of surprising inventions; the one that favored the progress of the world with incandescent light, the lightning-rod, the typewriter, the airplane, the electric locomotive, the linotype, the machine-gun, the telegraph, the sewing-machine, the phonograph, the metal armament of ships; the one that possesses, to its glory, the tallest buildings, the longest telescopes, the largest hydro-electric plants, the most important aqueducts, the most astounding railway stations, the most sumptuous libraries; the nation that imagined the submarine *Holland*, precursor of the Spanish *Peral*, the French *Gymote*, the Swedish *Nordenfelts* and that of the hated Germans.

. . . It is the people that has entered the most horrible war witnessed by the ages, led by the banner of liberty, the banner of right, the banner of justice, and whose ambition is . . . the peace of the world!



WOMEN RATHER THAN MEN

BY

AURELIA CASTILLO DE GONZÁLEZ

The writer, who is not lacking in a sense of humor, recognizing that *man* has not been inordinately successful as a producer of civilization, considers that he has made the mistake of overlooking the dynamic factor *woman*; she emphasizes the dependence of society upon woman for moral impulse and the first training of the young, and she makes a plea, not simply for the broader and more thorough education of girls, but also that they be given instruction of the same frank and practical character as that imparted to boys, and that the surroundings of girlhood be made more intellectually stimulating and Spartan in character.—THE EDITOR.

THE pen that moves over the paper on this occasion is not backed by personal experience, either long or short; it is not sustained by the strong prop of scientific discipline; it will not produce a single detail, statistical, exclusively local or by way of comparison between different countries, in support of its thesis. This will be a brief *impressionistic* paper, in the interest of poor humanity; a few sentimental lines, let us say; not of honeyed tenderness, but of deep and, possibly harsh, sentiment.

Here is a piece of my mind, then.

From time immemorial, philosophers, poets—serious poets—prophets, saints, pedagogues, legislators, have devoted themselves, with praiseworthy intention, to forming *men*, considered morally. The species has multiplied astonishingly: I do not know how many myriads of beings clothed themselves formerly (after other less concealing garments) with the showy bloomers, and to-day are wearing the convenient trousers. Something has been achieved. To nature, who gave nothing more than the biological type of fighter, have been contributed the farmer, the industrial, the mechanic, the artist, etc.; but has the final goal been reached—the perfectly poised man, fit to be the father of a family, and capable of endowing other men with the same excellent qualities? I think it has not. Among these millions of beings clothed with the staid masculine attire, there are hardly any who have achieved *manhood*, as it exists in the ideality of those who have sacrificed repose, goods, life, for the realization of this marvel.

Why has this been so and why is it still so? Some detail of origin, overlooked by reason of its insignificance (insignificance in appearance) is perhaps the hidden cause of the evil. I think educators—those in the professorial category, those of the books and of institutions of public instruction—have always proceeded after the manner of the sculptor, highly inspired but insane and beside himself, who, disdaining the humble clay, and bewildered in the presence of the block of resplendent marble, confiding wholly in his genius, with chisel and hammer in hand, attacks it impiously, seeking from it the divine contours which shape themselves in his mind and shine before his eyes—before the eyes of his spirit, since those that are endowed with pupils do not behold more than failures, the ruin of the splendid mineral—while the clay, forgotten, despised in a corner, if it could, would smile with melancholy, while contemplating its insensate contemner, and, if it were able, would say to him: "My aid was sought by other men, and there arose the Laocoon, Venus, Minerva."

The neglected clay, until now despised by the reformers, has been—it is evident—woman. To form men, without forming at the same time, and even before, women! Such has been the absurdity; and woman, unconsciously (as she does everything) avenges herself by infusing her insufficiency, her childish whims, her intellectual blindness, with the pure milk of her generous bosom, into the marrow of body and soul, from age to age, world without end!

There have been marked exceptions. The world has beheld with profound surprise and respect—if, indeed, they them-

selves have not voluntarily concealed this—*self-made women*, as the English would say, and from these marvelous sources have sprung, in the many cases that show the importance of the mother, the men who have set the norm, the living model of *man*. Without reaching such heights, there have existed women who, lacking adequate artificial preparation, but being endowed by nature with sound judgment and lucid intelligence, have proved excellent directors of families.

I am not the one to say: Men, reform the schools and all the institutions of learning, for those who are one day to be women; and make them thus and so. I do, say, however: Reform them. Do you not see in the girl the eternal girl? Behold with foreseeing eyes the future mother, who will exercise influence over you yourselves. Place in her hands, as you place in those of the boys—who surely are not all, nor even in their majority, prodigies of intelligence—serious books. The first generations will go to sleep with these books before their eyes, because the ancestral indolence of the feminine intellect is frightfully old. Do not lose heart on this account, however; for afterward, little by little, open will remain for a long time the beautiful eyes—made now only for soft glances—and at length they will pay attention—doubt it not—filled with longing and delight, to what closes them to-day.

Let it not be thought, from what I am saying, that I advocate a university career for women. This has already been obtained, and certainly—it is sad to confess it—with very meager results. The greater reforms that I desire, without excluding, naturally, those already indicated, are reforms in domestic and social customs: reforms of an intimate nature, which, because of their private character, are not subject to laws and regulations, and must be discreetly propagated and voluntarily accepted or not, but which custom will one day impose with *gentle rigor*. Let not this phrase be taken as a paradox. The great writer Manzoni, mourning once the death of a son, wrote to a friend: “God has visited me with

severe mercy.” Gentle and rigorous at the same time, is the sway of custom. The pressure with which it impels is rigid; but those under its dominion think they are moving by the freest kind of impulse from within; and from this precisely comes its almost irresistible control.

It is now, and it has almost always been, the custom to surround women, from the cradle to the grave, as by a conspiracy of love—I shall not be the one to say the contrary—with frivolity. If now I, filled with pity for the poor victim who is being poisoned by means of very delicious bonbons, took up the first of them she happens on and told her she must cease to yield to her pampered appetite, and that dolls must be suppressed, I should be considered a monster with a stony heart, and the whim would be attributed—for this idea would doubtless appear such—to the fact that my home is childless; as if all words and acts must ever be dictated by what we have in our homes and what belongs to us! As if a woman, in order to experience the sense of motherhood, must have the physiological act take place in her! Well and good; I say it then: dolls are the outpost of the formidable, implacable frivolity that must inevitably lay siege to a woman and capture her brain. True it is that girls playing at being mothers are enchanting; but the result is that, afterward, they go on playing dolls with their daughters—flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone.

Then comes their frivolous finery: the dress of the first communion, the mourning dress, dresses suited to the changing seasons, according to a date fixed by the calendar, the betrothal gown, etc., etc. From an early age, a girl becomes a painter: a small palette is put in her hand and her fresh face, which, thanks to such a procedure, will soon cease to be fresh, is the canvas upon which she is to paint. At such a rate does the use of paint increase, as the complexion becomes faded or discolored, that at times it is necessary to withdraw one's gaze, lest before a keen look or one of simple surprise, the crimson of blushes show through, by cracking the adventitious layer—if, indeed, it be not true that these same blushes have escaped,

upon the wings of the vaporous, filmy feminine garments now in vogue, to that palace of the stories of magic, regarding which travelers were told: "You will go; and you will ne'er return."

Speaking of stories, you have here a delicious bonbon for childhood, without poison inside. The admonitions to which we listened enraptured, in what Martí called *the age of gold*, have usually been starts in literature, sound primitive seed, in very grateful soil.

The domestic and social reforms which must rescue woman—rescue her gently, with nothing of violence—from this vitiated environment of perpetual childhood, are, I understand very well, more difficult to introduce here and in other countries of similar climatic conditions, much more difficult, than in those of the harsher regions. The ardent tropics, with their maturative power that tends to hasten development, are enormous obstacles, preventing woman from having sufficient time in which to prepare herself in such a way as not to be to her husband but a blind woman led by a guide. Maternity comes very early, and a girl passes from the threshold of the school, along a short, rose-covered path, in a state of somnambulism, to the threshold of the conjugal home, where her influence upon the offspring is to be very powerful. Although this influence is amassed with love, with abnegation, with sacrifice, its ineffaceable memory is engraved, and it entails defects, even if they be only apparent, in very grave disturbances of conscience, to an advanced age, of the one who was an infant when the impression was received.

A married couple is mentally unequal. The man knows much or little; the woman generally knows nothing, or what she knows is absurd; and on these heads—one of which is attractive, with a probably fugitive beauty, the other vigorous—begin to fall, when hardly the first fruit has been gathered, fine flakes of snow, which tend to change into a mantle-shroud of souls. In most cases, happily, the kindness of the pair tempers the frozen breath and keeps warmth in the home where the offspring must gather about the

unseeing conductress, with her uncouth leader of the blind.

Apropos of feminine ignorance, I recall the surprise of a young woman with a very quick and cultivated mind, according to the common standard, at discovering, from a conversation we held, that the planets are not true stars . . . that fall upon the earth! The surprise then passed over to me, a surprise that I concealed in order not to wound the poor victim of the routine methods of education: routine, I say, and endowed with so little cohesive power that what they teach is retained in the memory by the rigid application of an outside will, and it is scattered when the winds of self-determination blow, with the first kiss of the husband or the first caress of the child born in the home.

Will the remedy of so great an evil consist in giving excessive culture to man and woman alike, or, at least, all that their individual heads can bear without physical injury? This seems not to be the case.

Paris, the center of so much culture, affords, in her literary history, many marriages between persons of privileged mental qualities; between men and women of letters, with rival names in the literary world, come down sometimes from already famous ancestors. Is not all this admirable? How happy must they be, both elevated above the common level, discerners of many things to come, of which the common herd are ignorant, proud the one of the other, with children destined to receive a double and valuable inheritance! Nothing of the kind! This has not been observed in practice. These unions, as a general thing, have turned out to be ephemeral, and the offspring, not being strong enough to maintain the bond, have suffered by the severing of it—which is the transcendent result of the tremendous explosion of the gunpowder of passion.

Excessive culture therefore is not the guaranty of success. Perhaps in being too deeply concerned for it, there has been a disregard of the moral life, of character, to an equal degree. It may be that the example in the home has not been edifying.

Do you ask for the remedy, for counsel?

Perhaps the remedy may be not to create the illusion that it is sufficient to strengthen *men* in order to fit them by character for all the concerns of life. Also it may lie in educating *women* in useful and lucrative knowledge and in pure morality, that is to say, in a morality cherished because it is good, merely for the reason that its essence is goodness, without seeking to

induce the exercise of it by means of selfish motives . . . at long terms; without more or less worm-eaten scaffolds. Let women be strengthened, because they are very weak, very hysterical; and the family demands that they shall be strong, serene, responsible.

May my readers pardon me this illusion of the reformer!



JOSÉ ENRIQUE RODÓ

BY

GONZALO ZALDUMBIDE

An inquiry into the spiritual life of the great Uruguayan philosopher and an analysis and appreciation of his thought as revealed in his books. The author considers Rodó an exceptional American and a superlative man and thinker, in that, while his writings glow with love for America, the orbit of his mind is the world, he being always aware of Europe and the track along which it has come, and possessed of that sense of mission and that moral independence and intellectual conscientiousness which characterize the seer and the literary artist.—THE EDITOR.

THE greatest writer of Latin America is dead. He was also, as Montalvo¹ was in his epoch—and this is admitted by a Spanish critic, a very Spanish one, don Andrés González Blanco—the greatest prose writer of all those who at the present time express themselves in the language of Castilla. He was, besides, in our opinion, the one who pointed out from higher up the direction our souls are taking.

He died when he had just risen—not without a certain majesty of solitary eminence—to a tranquil, luminous and undisputed intellectual supremacy over the continent.

At the notice of his death, innumerable voices have doubtless proclaimed our grief in America. Here,² we ought to limit ourselves to pointing out briefly what his name means to us.

It will be necessary to evoke the atmosphere, which appeared to be laden with omens, of the period in which Rodó arose to intellectual life, in order to understand how inevitable were the disquietudes of his period of initiation. They impart to his first efforts that anxious, pathetic tone that would soon cease to echo in the halcyon calm of his work.

In his ardor to comprehend everything,

¹Juan Montalvo, an Ecuadorian man of letters and publicist, was born in Ambato, in 1837, and he died in Paris, France, in 1889; he managed the important review *El Espectador*, and he published a number of works, notable for the correctness and brilliancy of their style, among which his *Siete tratados* (two volumes) and his *Capítulos que se le olvidaron a Cervantes*, which appeared after his death, take first rank.—THE EDITOR.

²This article was evidently written in France.—THE EDITOR.

he made his own, about 1895, all the audacities and all the doubts of the *fin de siècle* thought. In the midst of the great number of contradictory negations and solicitations that clashed against each other in the somber grandeur of the end of the century, the young thinker sought longingly for certainty. To think, according to him, was not thenceforth a mere dialectic exercise, a function superior and isolated, artificial and innocuous. It was a grave initiation and test of vocation. Ideas reëchoing in the very center of the soul prolonged their resonance through life, extended their joyous influence or their baleful shadow over the most innocent things. Rodó seemed gifted with that intuition which perceives, in the depths of systems, the dramatic scope of ideas. He comprehended passionately the inner tragedy of Amiel—from whom he was to withdraw later, almost with disdain. He had risked, in his fervors and meditations, his peace of soul in the presence of a life of uncertain meaning. Now, however, the presentment of his immunity was awakened in him.

He made companions by preference of books that set the mind awirl. He went seriously through the *Dialogues Philosophiques* of the smiling professor of nihilism, more sensitive doubtless to the enchantment of the winged pages than to the attraction of the abysses over which they soar. He lingered in the dangerous voluptuousness of not finding any faith whatever or any charity that compensates or hope that persuades to go on seeking. All this, however, was, in reality, nothing more than grave and thoughtful dilettantism. An inner voice persisted, as if to announce

to him that he would issue from this oppression and find a path of his own, clear and free.

He passed from the deception peculiar to the philosophy of the period to poetry for the refreshment of his sensibility. Yet in the play of rhythms, images and harmonies he did not succeed in forgetting entirely his preference. He demanded for the poetic emotion the human ferment of sincerity, the pain and mystery of man, the vision of his destiny. Like some d'Annunzio convalescent from exquisite maladies, he besought of the poets, "the verse that exalts and consoles." He asked of them also auguries, presentments of the unknown route or promises of tranquillity. Worse off than ever, the poets offered him only the vain nepenthe of forgetfulness, and they knew not what to respond.

Rodó abandoned himself, nevertheless, to the varied enchantment and the partial truth of all the schools. It was the time in which, the last original cenacles being dispersed, their doctrines and innovations came from Paris in confused echoes to avid America. "My temperament of a literary Sindbad is a great craving for sensations," he said. Soon, however, his comprehension of reality and his love for great ideas lifted him out of the fallacious bewitchment.

He did not affiliate with any school, as thenceforward he transcended every arbitrary limitation, both by natural breadth of spirit and zeal for liberty. So, from the Parnassians—with whom, nevertheless, he had, by reason of the distant reserve and the fierce reticence of his soul, certain affinities of taste and temperament—he was withdrawn by the glacial immobility of their marble contemplation and implicit hopelessness. Also from them he was separated by the disdain which they professed for their own period. Rodó, who suffered from it in spirit as much as they, never desired to renounce it: he loved it in spite of all; and he wished rather that art should reflect it in all its somber and anarchical aspiration. Therefore, from naturalism, the narrowness and negations of which he hated, he accepted with enthusiasm its absolute intrepidity in the face

of reality. On this account he did not desire to flee, with symbolism, to the "Ultima Thule" of sleep.

After testing the wine of all vintages, however, he felt that none assuaged the thirst of his soul, become yet more severe.

With that fervor which gives to his ardent perplexity an irresistible accent, Rodó says:

Nevertheless, there are in our heart and in our thought many cravings to which no one has given form. All the tortures experienced over the word, all the desperate refinements of the spirit, have not been sufficient to quench the infinite thirst for expansion on the part of the human soul. In the libation of the rare and the extraordinary, the very dregs have been reached, and our lips are withered with longing for something greater, more human, more pure. Only the Messianic hope, faith in the one who is to come, the flower which has as a chalice the soul of all the ages in which pain and doubt are accentuated, causes our spirit to vibrate mysteriously.

Revealer! Prophet whom the inveterates of the perishing formulas hold by, and whom nostalgic souls await! When will come to us the echo of thy voice dominating the murmur of those who seek to disguise their solitary anguish by the monologue of their aching heart? From all roads we have seen the pilgrims return, and they have assured us that before their steps they found only the desert and the shadow.

Of what wilt thou speak, Revealer, that we may find in thy word the vibration that kindles faith, the virtue that triumphs over indifference and the heat that melts away loathing? In the midst of their solitude, our souls feel docile and ready to follow a guide. We seem like the abandoned traveler who, at every moment, applies his ear to the ground of the desert, in order to discover, in the noise of those who may be coming, an element of hope; our heart and our thought are full of anxious foreboding.

Revealer! Revealer! The hour has come! The sun in the west illuminates upon all brows the same sterile pallidity, discloses in the depths of all eyes the same strange uneasiness; the wind of the evening gathers from all lips the stammer of the same undefined aspiration. It is the hour in which the "caravan of decadence" pauses, disconsolate and weary, upon the confused depths of the horizon.

His first work, *La vida nueva*, is charged with this hope and this clamor. To await response to eternal longings, was it not

candor? Soon he ceased to wait. He observed that inquietude proceeds mainly from internal anarchy, and he turned his attention upon himself. He began to set himself in accord with his inner truth. His dialectic was, above all, a need for harmony. Far removed from all foppishness, far from all contagion or affectation of elegant perversion, far also from inhibiting and cruel Amielism,³ he devoted himself to the cultivation of the soul, an art that he was soon to carry to perfection. Tranquilized, he was the better able to harken to the *voices within*. They did not delay in preluding that melody of serenity which is, as it were, the inner music of his spirit.

Thenceforth there began to soar, with an innate gift of orientation, the heroic and candid hopefulness of his regenerative optimism.

That youthful Rodó, restless, anxious to find his way, would be very interesting to sketch here, in contrast with the composed thinker, the north and guide of generations. In this hasty outline, however, such a development is not possible.

That was the momentary Rodó of the period of initiation. Soon his inner life advanced and cleared, like those climates of furtive and brusque spring, in which the urgent sap bursts forth almost suddenly and flowers all at once, presently to surrender the field to the radiant days of summer, which inaugurate their tranquil brilliancy as if they were to endure for ever. Pages there are in his book, of such radiant serenity, that they, in truth, inspire the same melancholy as days that are too beautiful: we have no felicity that can endure their splendor, nor can we set the soul to the diapason of their light.

We lacked, until we had him in Rodó, complete and finished, the *writer* par excellence (after the manner of a Renan, a Taine or a France) who, uniting to a grave and consuming love of the truth, a sensitive understanding of the beautiful, would be, at the same time, to an equal degree, artist and critic, poet and thinker, wise and

spontaneous—the writer, master of himself and of his art, in whom the literary gift might appear as exalted as the esthetic consciousness would be lucid and strict; who would be both scrupulous in the detail and restrained in the proportions, and would be as responsible for all that he should say as he would for all about which he should keep silent—the rarest and most necessary kind, in countries where the want of classic literary tradition leaves each one abandoned to the vice of his native spontaneity.

In other great American writers, I know not what rebellious and incorrigible fiber, I know not what traits of the untamed barbarian—excesses bubbling with the impetus and wealth of elemental forces or the abysmal voids of frank and free ignorance—have always proclaimed the original sin: that of the incipient and contradictory race, hurried culture and chaotic national life. Instinctive nearly all, extraordinarily gifted many, almost without knowing it, there cropped out in them often some monstrous and unequal talent, in one or another strong page, in this or that insuppressible poem, petition or apostrophe. (I am thinking of Sarmiento, Martí and so many others.) Thus it is that we have had, and in an admirable manner, “inspired” poets, “genial” thinkers, “irresistible” orators, beautiful examples of every easy kind, in the sense of requiring almost solely an innate aptitude. The perfection in them was, however, but a stroke of genius, and almost never exclusive volition, imperious and tenacious consciousness—it discharges, refined in bits, generally vehement lyric motives, while the work as a whole, almost always impulsive and as a first gush, abounds in incoherences and inequalities. In our voluminous literature, there predominates the impression of a multiplicity of noble unrestrained powers, fecund yet badly improved. Indolence or romanticism prevented our writers from constructing solidly the abode of the thought of a day, in unstable countries, convulsed and in a perennial abortion of institutions. Even of the poets it may be said that the desire for formal perfection, an exquisite relentlessness of expression, are things of to-day,

³Derived from the name of the Swiss poet and philosopher, Henri Frédéric Amiel, born in Geneva (1821-1881).—THE EDITOR.

taken from the France of the Parnassians. "Inspiration" caused the predecessors to stammer as in a sacred intoxication, depriving them of a passion for the minute and exact adequation of the word to the shade of the meaning. The romantics, poets of "fatality," more regardful of the tempestuous beauties of passion than of the exigencies of "severe art and of silence," modulated their confused souls just as it occurred to them to do, sobbing or storm-swept, without moderation and as if without shame. Freer, the prose writers, with a negligent abandon, gave less attention to the art of imposing an architecture upon their facile conceptions.

Here, however, we find realized, almost suddenly, the type of the perfect writer; and, at the same time, the most enlightened mind, the most discreet sensibility. To admire without reserve the quality of a prose of constant and unwearying elevation, clothed in unvarying elegance, page after page, without weaknesses in point of abundance, or condescensions in the face of the "rebellion of the word that refuses to give of itself soul and color;" to admire also the decorum of a thought preserved in beauty by the most charming expression and in liberty by an amplitude very sure of itself, it is necessary, indeed, to betake us to Rodó.—As to the prose of Montalvo (an author to whom Rodó has given the most stupendous praise in an "essay" without a peer in the Spanish language in the realm of criticism, for magnificence of style, arrogance of conception and heat of Americanism), it is a prose apart, an exceptional prose, admirable as an extremely personal manifestation, as an intransmissible secret.

Rodó nobly consecrates in America the new prose, vivified by rhythm, rather than rejuvenated by modisms or bedizened with tortuous constructions and turns of expression: vivified by the rhythm that causes the inert series of words to undulate with the very breath of the soul, which harmonizes them according to its inner propulsion.

Thus winged with rhythms, a book as grave as *Ariel* seems airy. The logic itself of the harmonious thinker, all in soft curves and delicate processes of ennoble-

ment and purification, now filled the spirit with something like an imminent music of ideas. The undulation of his thought flowed thus in innate rhythm and not merely imposed, like external number and meter, upon the measured phrase. By reason of this infused harmony, his gift of persuasion, to which every reader surrenders in serene enchantment, is a musical virtue.

Rodó, in like manner, brought to the forensic declamation of our prose: moderation, reserve, power of indefinite suggestion. "No one refused, in truth, with so complete a sense of music, to elevate his voice," says Ventura García Calderón, in an admirable study, the best of all that up to the present have been written upon our Uruguayan.⁴

A writer refractory to all prudishness, if there ever was one, Rodó sought, nevertheless, linked and fused transitions, the rhythmic circulation of ideas and sentiments within a single harmonious and ample period, the grace of gradual movement in order to pass from one to another part of the discourse by easy stages, carrying measures of interwoven images. If his lyricism is about to become lofty, the prelude is long and tenuous. His pictures offer always the calm and pure lines of classic landscapes. Even later, when the beat becomes longer, and the sentence powerful and rapid, it advances, gathering in passing a varied treasure of contributory riches; the phrases succeed each other without becoming involved, and with the extended undulation of great rivers, in which the tumult of boisterous torrents has been calmed.

Thanks to a most refined self-knowledge, Rodó supplied with his universal culture the deficiencies of his temperament, or he shunned paths where others, more incautious, would perhaps have revealed their inferiority. Never, in his work, is there disparity, either between subject and aptitude or between intention and realization; and still less, what we suspect in so many others, between the man and his work. The soul of his books was, as it were, his every-day soul. Hence his unity

⁴In his *Historia de la literatura uruguaya*, written in collaboration with the señor H. Barbagelata.

of tone. From *El que vendrá*⁵ to *Los que ballan*⁶ the same melody is diffused. It is a contraproductive equality, perhaps, as it levels interest and lessens admiration yielded once for all. In Montalvo, for example, as in a sublime, craggy mountain, one moves amid exalted pinnacles of passion that conceal pleasant valleys, and over heights and depressions, without knowing where, but from surprise to surprise, untiring and filled with wonder. Rodó, in his beautiful bark, his lateen sail taut before a breeze always propitious, bears us along with an easy movement over seas so placid that they seem to be eternal.

We, ill schooled, could wish at times to see him break his serene upward soar with some audacious flight, with some somersault to the cavern of passions; or, at least, to hear from him some discord that would merely add zest to his melodious meditation. All in it, however, is translucent; even certain spiritual inquietudes stand out above horizons of serenity. There, all is immune from contagion; however much, in order to know the secret of all perversions, he steeped his mind in the most insidious philters, all proved impotent, having no other effect than to reveal to him the secret of their composition.

An inner eurythmy presides over his fine art of teaching. For him even the sentiment of justice is but a delicate sense of moderation and proportion. Evil, gross error, low passion, are a wayward discord in the esthetics of conduct. Therefore he believed in the virtue of art, in the regulative power of the sentiment of beauty. Art being the most ample domain, from which the gaze surveys the vastness of the human horizon, he could wish that to it all should ascend, to hold communion on the heights. He desired to have fellowship not only with Christ but also with Renan. The efficacy of a generous art seemed to him to be redemptive. To proclaim love for beauty; to prove the virtue of the lovely; to make the poetry of precept felt, was for him a "kind of sacred oratory." "Virtue is also a kind of art, a divine art," he says; and he adds:

"to make the beautiful felt is an act of mercy." With Hellenic grace he rids his "virtue" of all asperity. Yet his balsamic unction has nothing of a mawkish mysticism. He would arouse in the most remiss, in the most forgetful of themselves, the feeling of a lofty human nobility; he would see in all man, in every man, the whole of humanity and not merely specimens, more or less mutilated, of the species. To this end he taught the cultivation of the inner life, where innumerable possibilities lie dormant. He desired that every one, at peace within, should remember his own being, his own truth; be helped by solitude and silence; practice disinterested meditation and ideal contemplation; and over all things cast a serene and free gaze.

To arouse in each of us the whole *man*, the participator in everything human, like Terence's slave, the spectator always mindful of the drama of the world: no one did so much as this suggester of possibilities and discoverer of "undefined perspectives." Likewise, however, no one has touched with more precise efficacy—as he has done, for instance, in his glorious studies upon Bolívar and upon Montalvo—the secret springs of a pride most exclusively South American. No one in America knew more, or was by culture more European, and no one had a more genuine right to feel himself a citizen of the world. No one, however, turned upon his America a gaze more laden with uneasy love and watchful anxiety. Only Francisco García Calderón, who is precisely the one considered by many as the most noble continuer of the idealistic impulses bequeathed to the new generations by Rodó, can be compared with him in the sense of this arduous, generous labor.

Love for America, a presentment of her importance to the world, made him hope that one day she would arouse herself to coöperating and even to presiding in the immense and conciliatory work of civilization. He therefore believed it necessary to conform our spirit to that of the ancient Latin peoples, still the leaders of humanity, instead of isolating ourselves, as some have desired, in a vaunting independence, as the guardians of the purely autochthonous,

⁵*He Who Is to Come.*—THE EDITOR.

⁶*Those Who Find.*—THE EDITOR.

with the niggardly and vain aspiration to preserve an illusory intellectual autonomy. To this end he besought that literature also, instead of devoting itself exclusively to the cultivation of local peculiarities, every day more precarious and scarce; instead of exalting merely the sense of one's own plot of ground, every day poorer in soul and more bereft of primitive character, should pay intelligent respect to more general aspirations.

By his example Rodó ennobled the longing of the writer of the New World, now ambitious for horizons, rather than narrowed and circumscribed by absorption in trifles visible from the belfry, by what had to do with the altitude of his intellectual outlook; which in respect of the instinctive attachment to, and conscious predilection for, one's own land, no prerogative has belittled them in his cosmopolitanism simply open to the free expansion of ideas. What Rodó wished and what he himself said was that "at the side of the faithful son of our America, who bears among the things themselves of his spirit the reflection of a certain extent of the earth, let there be the disciple of a Renan or a Spencer, the beholder of Ibsen, the reader of Huysmans and of Bourget." He desired, in short, that the mind should be kept open to the four winds of the spirit, while the heart should be imbedded firmly in the depths of one's native corner. He held likewise that this spot ought be felt to be associated in the soul, and by every tie, with the rest of America in order to form the continental patria, vast and one, which he loved, not only because it was beautiful in its variety and because there awaited it a future overflowing with blessings, but because he felt it to be *his*, all, in its moral unity and diversity.

Rodó has made us feel magnificently the heat of his soul—in other respects reticent and distant—in those portraits of South American personages, all of different regions, painted with ardent delight, and to whose depths, with a potent and tender power, he has imparted such vivid touches of essential Americanism. For all this, for his evocations and his prognostics, for his sentiments as much as for his ideas, Rodó was loved throughout

all the continent and was considered as our most representative writer.

Less original in manner, less genial in temperament than Montalvo in respect of creative candor and joy; more cordial, more harmonious than Andrés Bello, Rodó, in spite of being so European, was, on this very account, the man of letters who incarnated with greatest power the civilization we are now learning, the mind which we are assimilating.

Another who might have had some astonishing, distinctive originality, some pungent regional flavor, some uncontrollable, Americanizing longing, would not have represented the direction of our spirits and the tenor of our intellectual habits so genuinely as this writer, who, with his gift of amplifying and assimilating, characteristic of our general aptitude, has been able, in a manner so elegant and so persuasive, to veil our poverty of invention, our dearth of autochthonous initiatives.

It is in the work of Rodó that we find most clearly set forth our effort to pass from a hurried apprenticeship to mastery, our capacity to reproduce and even to greatness—since we have not created nor could create a divergent civilization, peculiar and exclusively our own—the molds of the modern world. "Fixing our eyes in the direction of the Nascent," says Rodó, "is the way we are to behold arising for a long time yet the light that will radiate over our moral organism, over our intellectual life."

He continues therefore for America the ancient waiting for the return of the *galeones*, changed now, however, to more noble needs.

In the dense American jungle each tree raises aloft, in miniature, a whole forest. From its laden branches hangs and is spilled, in futile exuberance, a parasitic profusion of vines and creepers, mosses and orchids, while the thick foliage in domes piles upward. In its shade, amid the sensual boscage, weariness aggravates its inertia, and repose turns to drowsiness. From out the smothered obscurity only the palm, lofty and solitary, with smooth and naked stem, erects its proud crest

and spreads it frankly to the winds of heaven. It seems to reach upward to free itself from the oppressive abundance, as if pining for the desert, for its purifying native solitude. Because of its skyward soar, the elegance of its simplicity, its isolation aloft and the grace of the meditative and dominating attitude with which it keeps watch over the whole horizon and swings, sensitive and light, to the breezes come from afar, the palm may represent, in our sylvestral literature, the tall and serene figure of Rodó.

From the beginning, his attitude was that of one peering at the horizon. A watchman, sleepless and waiting, when he was heard for the first time in all the continent, he spoke from the tower of the sister Ana. He was asking for the Coming One, with ominous inquietude.

In few periods of history has a greater menace of helplessness and sterility weighed upon human anxiety over the future. Even in this primitive America—"a virgin that sleeps upon the sands of the shore," which many fancy to be still preserved in idyllic candor—a generation, febrile and disenchanted by premature beginnings, wandered in search of the word that would return to it the love for work, with faith in itself. Rodó had to repeat then, upon the distant shore, the invocation: "*Axiome, religion, ou prince des hommes,*" for whom, "*Sous l'oeil des Barbares*" cried out, tormented and lucid, the Barrès of that day.

Revealer, Revealer, the hour has arrived!

Youth that arose at hearing the melopœia of this muezzin was held in suspense by its pathetic expectation. He who was to come has not arrived even to-day.

Those young men awaited him, without doubt, with an anxiety that even we, who have come later, know in another form.

He must have seemed to them like the forerunner—this *pioneer* who turned to listen to and comprehended the most moving revelations, and who knew, according to the phrase of Barrès, about those

endroits intacts où veillent mille chefs d'œuvre.

Perhaps they might have preferred, even yet, one accomplice more, who would aggravate the delicious malady of their

decadence; but they doubtless beheld in Rodó—if not the Master who announced himself and whom they, in turn, desired and did not desire—the older brother, freed now of fever, although still trembling, the counselor who would be able, perhaps, without overlooking the demands of their ambiguous and dear sensibility, to unbind the inert hopelessness that kept them paralyzed in the face of every-day life.

While this sort of Messianic hope was being spread, a miraculous poet caused it to be forgotten. He moved through the continent, enchanting young minds by the tones of his cornemuse, before unheard. He passed, disconcerting the old masters, and even the decrepit youths. The mockery of the young was more senile than the anger of the aged, but equal was the lack of comprehension on the part of both old and young. Even in the pure ardor and faith of admirers, there was such candor of ignorance, their longing to know was so ingenuous and avid, that they welcomed every felicitous stroke and accepted every incongruity as the sign of the new poetics. The best of them had a glimpse of it as by the flash of distant lightning, and they practiced the spells of precocious and vicious children in order to call up unknown enchantments.

Nevertheless, Darío triumphed. In spite of the certainty of his triumph, however, the poet desired doubtless that admiration of him should not dispense with the comprehension of him, and even that he should be comprehended before being admired. He began to shrink with horror from the vulgarization of his manner at the hands of innumerable imitators, arduous and prolific. Even the most remiss, badly liberated from other servitudes, attached themselves now to his retinue; and a simian cacophony almost drowned the music of Silvanos. No one had determined, in the meanwhile, the truth and the soul of the initiator nor the distances that separated him from his cohort. He found then in Rodó the most open and best prepared mind, the gift of the most reflecting and exquisite taste, rather than a twin sensibility or an equal, ideal conception of art. The poet exiled

"from a suffering Versailles" found one who, with a royal gesture, would set him above the multitude. The poet and the thinker were very dissimilar spirits, united only in the pure love and subtle comprehension of a kind of beauty until then not seen in America. This union, happy as are few such unions in the history of literature, marked a culminating point of the new era, the most brilliant in the literary culture of these countries, often ill informed but very intelligent. Thanks to this union, there passed in a single tremor, along the length of the Andes, the "*frisson nouveau*," which had not stirred before except in a few initiates. Never did the word that makes comment and the poetry that suggests blend in more tenuous music. Uniting them in a fagot, Darío and Rodó shortened, for America and for Spain, the work of initiation, assimilation and refinement, by who knows how many lusters, in view of the fragmentary and intermittent character of our direct apprenticeships.

The admirable essay, placed as a prologue to *Prosas profanas*,⁷ appeared without the name of the author, by an oversight in the correction of the proofs. There was no reader, however, who, remembering the airy rhythm, the lofty spiritual elegance, of other pages of Rodó's, hesitated to attribute it to him. Who but he? In Spain, none of those who had already eulogized Darío, none of the known writers, was wont to infuse into his prose that palpitating, restrained music. In America, Ventura García Calderón, who had since published on the poet numerous and magnificent pages equally harmonious, was then unknown, hardly adolescent. That wisdom so proud and sure, that sensibility of *paysage choisi que vont charmants masques et bergamasques*, as in Verlaine, that pure and insinuating persuasion, could only be from Rodó.

The poet of *Prosas profanas* is there entire. Darío was later somewhat forgetful, in saying of himself, in token of complaint or perhaps of vague reproach, alluding to Rodó's *impassivity* of that time:

He was thought to be of marble and he was of living flesh.

If Darío did not discover, or rather, if he did not insist upon disengaging from the marble that soul which was soon to show itself to be "sentimental, feeling, sensitive," it was because that soul, if in truth it breathed there secret and unseizable, if in some sighful rhythm it passed furtive and gay, it is also certain that it rather retired, instead of demanding for itself any curious attention, if it were not that the very gesture of escape, modest and exquisite, might have been a veiled invitation to pursue it. His soul, a prisoner enchanted and among pure statues and rare jewels, showed the treasures of the spot, and not its captive pangs or its anguish under enchantment. Perhaps it had fled rather from any one who might have tried to awaken it and bring it to reality. Afterward the poet advanced toward mortal life and sang with exalted melancholy. In that great book he was only the "exquisite poet," and therefore the solitary and egotistic one, as admirably glossed by Rodó.

A delicious dilettantism was that of Rodó in poetry. Behind the undulating critic, however, was defined, maturing now more serious preferences, the thinker who would seek to remind men—passing over the innumerable beauties of art—of the essential beauty of being a man. His precocious and tender gravity was but the sense of this vocation as the delicate and intimate apostle. He, who seemed not to have known anything of youth, save the anxiety of waiting and that thirst for the ideal which transcends all creeds, knew also purifying enthusiasm, and he came, with all the graces of art, to tell us his evangel, Platonic and Renanian, Hellenic and Christian.

When Próspero therefore, invoking Ariel, addressed to thoughtful youth his exhortation to the ideal, all America recognized that a great spiritual guide had arisen for the continent. That little book, which radiates an Hellenic grace of serenity, was his masterpiece.⁸

It spread like the announcement of the

⁷See article on Rubén Darío: INTER-AMERICA: English: Volume I, Number 1, October, 1917, page. —THE EDITOR.

⁸An allusion to Rodó's *Ariel*.—THE EDITOR.

"new life" for which he himself cried out in his crisis of youth. The gift of persuasion, the cordial power of attraction, were such that no one then observed the inadequateness and perhaps the hurtfulness for America of this quite wholesome teaching. If there had not been felt in his accent the impossibility of irony that characterized his gentle and austere generosity, there would have been cause for smiling at the danger of preaching disinterestedness in the house of prodigals; devotion to the ideal, to a race of Quijotes; the worship of the hero, in the land of promise for *caudillos*; the sweet classic *otium*, to a people of proverbial ease and idleness; the cultivation of the new life, to dispositions refractory to action; the morality of the beautiful, in an epoch in which reigned the esthetics of evil; and universality, in the land of improvisation.

Such an evangel was rather to be proclaimed in the United States, whose sense of life he analyzed there also, in pages of marvelous sagacity, describing its progress as the very model of the perfection . . . that we ought not to imitate!

This inopportuneness was only apparent, however. The danger lay only in not comprehending well. Rodó pointed, with exquisite precision and sense of tone, the part of action and that of dreams, or rather, the ennoblement of the daily reality by the infusion of the tutelary and intimate spirit of an ideal, and by care in perfecting the inner being. He praised the beauty of the disinterested good as above that *moral arithmetic* which Franklin counseled.

Although it might have been unmodern and superfluous to preach idealism to us, not on this account was his exaltation less beautiful or less persuasive. His truth was in his beauty. It was promulgated with the attractiveness of a religion for good men and exquisite.

All the world, since then, has called him master. Thus began, with the success of the first proof of his vocation, the fatality of a "mission."

With age and the knowledge of souls, in which he delved by means of all his reading, stimulated, besides, by the authority recognized in him, this gift of persuasion, which was his cardinal apti-

tude, was converted into a need for guiding, for preserving, for reestablishing order and beauty in troubled spirits. Such was always the cordial side, the decisive stimulus of his work. His vocation, now irrevocable, had become the living power of perseverance. This was exalted to a redemptive ideal, almost in the form of piety. If the "interests of the soul" were always his highest concern, he desired now to serve them more nearly, more concretely, in the consciousness of every one. He saw innumerable probabilities that waited upon the effective call, in the most devastated soul. He contemplated the infinite virtuality of life, not with the vertigo, sadness and perplexity of an Amiel, but with a clear and operative will. His object was to incite those resurrections in such as lay buried in their own unconsciousness. By his love for life and his pride as a man, he desired to share with time and the universal laws the direction of our alternations of soul.

With a rich abundance, with the inventive obstinacy of a missionary, he renewed indefatigably—and such are his *Motivos de Proteo*—all the reasons for hoping, changeable like ourselves and with ourselves. He bent over all the infirm of will, he upheld hesitating vocations, he caused to burst forth new fountains of hope wherever complete discouragement had dried up the old ones. He thought to save disregarded treasures, even in those of most meager spirit. He exercised, in truth, what might be deemed a genuine cure of souls.

Generous but excessive condescension. "At times," García Calderón tells us, "he importunes us to let Próspero, in order to console us, make common the counsels of sentimental hygiene which we learned in the Angelican manuals of Smiles."⁹ He never forces upon us that

⁹A note subscribed by the two collaborators of *La literatura uruguaya* informs us that the opinions of Rodó set forth there belong to the señor García Calderón. The señor Barbagelata has expressed his own opinions elsewhere.—AUTHOR'S NOTE.

The works of Samuel Smiles have been put into the hands of the youth of Spain and Spanish America for many years. A publisher of Barcelona has brought out eight duodecimo volumes of them in Spanish, and these are frequently encountered in home and school.—THE EDITOR.

"Emersonian gymnastics" which causes us "to go from summit to summit," with "a soul all erect like infinite rods set up for lightning." This would perhaps startle those who come in search of trust in him. Rodó preferred to employ, inexhaustibly, slow and discursive persuasion.

Granted the end proposed, it would be impossible, in truth, to achieve it by a more graceful art. Optimistic confidence in reason is but slightly propitious to the lyricism which we prefer. It is so easy to be stirred by the pathetic voice of the soul's doubt and anxiety, which awaken so great an echo in every one! There was need of a potent artist to make shine with beauty these hopes dimmed by the familiarities of many-tongued common sense. Rodó achieved it marvelously.

When, however, one thinks of the great unexplored region of the life and history of America, which might have given to his pen the occasion for painting frescoes as impressive as those in which the singular figures of Bolívar and Montalvo stand out, and which he himself caused to live again with power, it truly saddens to behold so noble an intelligence and so privileged a power of composition engaged in proving at great length, things that are immediately evident.

Passing over the ærial, exquisite lightness of *Ariel*, all the world has believed in this work as in his masterpiece. So great a mind elevates, vivifies these intense pages. In them he makes us think of the loftiness of soul of a Marcus Aurelius, rather than of the lessons of honest *savoir-vivre* of a Lord Chesterfield who might have been able to write in so grand a style. The magnanimous spirit that exalts its educative purpose would be sufficient to redeem it from the vague tedium which clings to certain works, of an excessive prudence, written explicitly to guide us, to counsel and warn us, if there were not there, to remind us of the presence of a great artist, that ordered opulence, that abundant splendor, with which are poured out in every page the greatest riches of the language, a thousand pure images of plastic and sonorous poetry, all the pomp of one who possessed to a supreme degree, the wise gift of style; and if the most extraor-

dinary passages of illustrious biographies, and the most beautiful figments of fable did not give living form and splendid setting to all his ideas. As therefore Rodó transformed into ample poetic visions the ideas of a simple educator, so his apologues of a moralist surpassed in range and beauty those that Franklin, for example, used with familiar good humor.

"Because of these short stories," says Ventura García Calderón, in that study which it would be necessary to quote at every step on account of the admirable manner in which he has defined all the aspects of the thought of the master, "Rodó is worthy to be considered as one of our best novelists." He may, in like manner, be considered a poet of ideas, by reason of the way in which he impregnated his work with the harmony of his soul.

Death has harshly brought low this thinker who always kept its dark shadow from before his soul. He died almost suddenly, when he was preparing to come here. He wished to know intimately this sweet France, which he had loved always, and above all, now.

Death came to surprise him, when the tableland of life was hardly half crossed, before his repose, in the fervor of a new life; because his journey was two-fold: for the eyes and for the soul. This great sage, who once counseled the necessary ingratitude of the Prodigal Son, in order to prepare for significant returns, would have known how to draw from this pilgrimage stirring lessons for his spirit, which he wished to renew by wandering through the ancient world as a *father and master*.

The fullness of power, of glory, of wisdom, awaited him with all the crowns. He would have known how to grow old with beauty, he, who, during his pensative and grave youth, did not desire to be young truly. This man, without melancholy yielding to voluptuousness, did not know until late, perhaps too late, the suffering of mutilated dreams, of wasted passions, of faded ambitions. Politics did not accept entirely the man of serene achievement who lived in him in harmony with the sagacious dreamer. He withdrew softly, perchance with compassionate dis-

dain, from the struggle against the lower forces that reign in the world of action. He did not delay in recovering, in solitude, the limpidness of his best days.

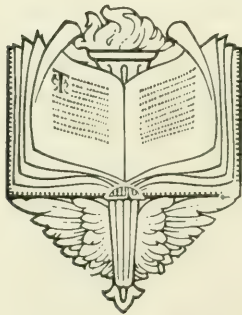
He always worked in calmness, through long hours, with devotion, and, above all, with probity, ignoring the larger part of his spiritual triumphs, without ever running after success, or taking from it ought save honor, with clean hands consecrated to abolished chivalry. The pure life of this solitary friend of the multitudes is also a teaching. Condemned, by his own loftiness, even in the midst of his followers, to one of the vastest solitudes of the spirit, he never complained. Perhaps he did not love his glory; among his most sincere admirers, his intimate preferences were for *those who kept silence*.

Never, in America, will be silenced the echo of the voice of Próspero taking leave of his friends. Each generation will listen to it anew; suavely serious and

thoughtful, it will advance toward the terrible life, feeling better after having heard him.¹⁰

¹⁰Rodó leaves other continuers of his idealistic impulse. Among them the strongest and most brilliant is, without any doubt, Francisco García Calderón. Rodó set on him the hope of seeing grow and triumph in America the type of writer that would be best for our intellectual future. In his most notable books, *Les Démocraties latines d'Amérique* and *La creación de un continente*, Francisco García Calderón has developed, by giving to them a philosophical and scientific turn, the reasons for the essential idealism, whose lucid and active generosity, fertile in civilizing directions, is, in fine, for us, the most constant and effective force. Having begun, in *De Litteris*, with a kind of prolongation of *Ariel*, he has given, in his last books, the highest rhythms of our moral and political life. Our vast and turbulent democracies have assumed in these masterly works a clear consciousness of themselves and of their destinies. The authority which from an early time has been recognized in this young master marks him now naturally as the true continuator and successor of Rodó.—AUTHOR'S NOTE.

For data regarding Francisco García Calderón, see INTER-AMERICA: English: Volume I, Number 3, February, 1918, Biographical Data, page 130.—THE EDITOR.



INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE AIR

. A NEW ELEMENT IN WHICH IT MANIFESTS ITSELF

MANUEL ELICIO FLOR T.

The graduation thesis of a law student, in which he undertakes to define international aerial law by applying to the air the principles that govern, or have been supposed to govern, the relations between nations in other realms; he discusses what constitutes the air zone of a country; and he gives a brief sketch of the history of aërostation and aviation.—THE EDITOR.

First Disquisition

DEFINITION.—The Marquis of Olivart, in attempting a scientific classification of international law, criticizes the division of it by some authors into terrestrial and maritime law, because, according to his view, rights do not vary with the sphere in which they are exercised; nevertheless, not as a classification of international law, but rather by way of method, we believe that in the science of international public law, as well as in private and criminal law, there ought to be a discussion of international aerial law.

Human activity, in this new sphere of its manifestation, must, as a rational activity, be subject to laws: to both those that spring from its own nature, and to those that emanate from the laws of states, always without the latter being in contradiction to the former. To discover these laws by means of the observation of facts and the application of the principles of natural law and international practices, is the object of the present paper.

The same author mentioned above holds that the science of international law, as it is usually called, or *interstatutory* law, as we believe it more proper to term it, as material for scientific speculation, ought not to be studied either with a purely metaphysical or abstract design, as mere natural law, or as a collection of rules derived simply from international courtesy, that is, from the reciprocity of international practice exercised by virtue of the free consent of states. Olivart holds that he who devotes himself to the study of this science, without losing sight of the natural law of the society of nations,

must also take into account the practices consecrated by them. Bearing in mind this wise opinion, and the air, a new element in which certain international rights are exercised, as a first step in international aerial law, and in order to begin the development of this chapter of general international law, we may define it as: *the knowledge of the precepts of natural law and of the rules of positive law that govern international activity in the use of airships, both in peace and in war.* As long as human genius shall not adopt another means of overcoming the law of gravity, by making it serve for the ascension and journeys of man through the realm of the air, the airplane, the invention of the twentieth century, is the only one that has suggested the interest of this new chapter in international law.

The real existence of international aerial law.—Law, considered as an irrefragable moral power, inherent in the individual, to do or to exact something, also includes the international person, and gives origin to what might be called international natural law. In this sense, to deny the existence of international aerial law, as the result of the dictates of reason in studying to ascertain what ought to be done with regard to the use of airplanes, would be to affirm that they, as a means of transportation, are beyond all law, both in peace and in war: that they are machines of new invention, subject to the caprice of men or of the state; that such need not concern themselves, in using them, with the violations of moral law or with the attacks that these machines, misused, make upon the rights of others.

Everything in the universe is subject

to laws, and if airships only were not subject to them, they would be destructive agencies; but, even thus they would give evidence of a preëxisting order, inasmuch as nothing can be destroyed without its having been previously established in a certain manner, whether in a moral or a material sense. Airplanes, used without regulations under which to operate, would be, in short, outside the universe, for, if in it, they must be subject to laws. There exists then a natural order which human reason discovers in the relations that obtain between states in respect of the use of airships, and it exists in reality.

There are two kinds of reality: the logical reality and the reality of fact. The first is the offspring of speculation; the second, of practice; the first is merely subjective; the second, objective, which, in what has to do with our subject, manifests itself in international practices. In general international law, the real existence of law is proved by the investigation of the logical reality, first, and, next, by certain principles unanimously accepted by the nations; it is proved also by the existence of many and wise plans for the codification of law, and by the existence of international customs and natural or legal sanctions for the violation of certain precepts. As much could not be said of international aërial law. If this kind of law exists as a logical reality, as we have demonstrated, there are in fact only the works of certain publicists designed to cause states to adopt rules for the use of airships. Already aërostatics has been the subject, from certain points of view, of international conferences, and regarding it there are also preparations in one and another plan for the codification of international law; but opinion regarding airships is far from being unanimous. Few are the authors who have occupied themselves with this subject; all the more, in view of the fact that, as these machines are being perfected from day to day by successive modifications, opinion is recast and aërial navigation is but beginning to be the theme of modern studies; and it is therefore not proper to speak of international customs in this respect.

Sources of international aërial law.—

Passing over the question whether the sources of law are its origin or its manifestations, a question raised by the internationalist Alcorta, and of the metaphysical origin of law, the problem of the origin of law is commonly mooted in order to discover whether the precepts relative to a particular law, held and professed by the nations, have real sources. In this sense, and following the classification of the sources of international law of the publicist Medina, positive international aërial law has, as its bases, certain treaties, the opinions and doctrines of the publicists and the practices of some nations.

As the number of writers upon this subject has increased considerably, a complete enumeration would be difficult. The authors of very respectable opinions are principally: Paul Fauchille, M. Nys and the writers upon international public law who in a special chapter treat of aviation: Olivart, Bonfils, d'Espagnet.

In respect of the practice of nations—in order that such may be recognized as a source of law, and thus we have considered it—it is necessary that it shall not contradict the natural law of the society of states, and that it shall be founded upon the reciprocity of acts among them. From this point of view, there are few practices. Those sanctioned by treaties, and then violated in fact, demonstrate that caprice still dominates, under cloak of the exigencies of an armed peace and a state of war, instead of the constant efficacy of the practices of justice.

General uses and customs, as sources of international aërial law, and universally established legislation and jurisprudence, do not exist, in the full meaning of these terms. The wise professor Bluntschli proposed, in his codification, an article upon balloons (article 623). The question as to whether aëronauts ought or ought not to be looked upon as spies, which, in its affirmative form, is the German doctrine and practice, has been brilliantly discussed by Olivart, Calvo, Hall and Fiore. The erudite and celebrated monograph, *Le domaine aérien et le régime juridique des aérostats*, a work of the learned Fauchille, and the report that the same Fauchille,

in collaboration with M. Nys, presented at the last meeting in Brussels (1902), with a draft of regulations, in thirty-two articles, are works of mark; as is also worthy of mention the *Note* of M. Nys, sent to the same meeting, and in which is presented the history of aerial navigation. In our country, the work of the illustrious internationalist, Dr. Carlos Tobar Borgoño, *Derecho internacional penal*, contains some pages devoted to this important subject, under its penal aspect.

Political equilibrium and airships.—The political equilibrium appeared in history as the result: first, of the tendency to universal dominion on the part of certain kingdoms, like Austria, in the seventeenth century; then, of the aspiration to universal monarchy, attributed to Carlos V and Felipe II; later, of the insatiable ambition of an illustrious king, Louis XIV, and of a genius, Napoleon Bonaparte; consecrated, besides, by certain prescriptions of the treaty of Westphalia (1648), the treaty of Utrecht (1713) and the congress of Vienna (1815). Bitter experience has taught that the selfish interests of nations prevented its natural effect, that is to say, the peaceful coexistence of different bordering states. So, to-day, the powerful Germany can not clear herself of the imputation that not without reason has she been charged with having planned universal dominion, based upon the general diffusion of her commerce and the astonishing power of her arms.

In spite of not taking it for granted that the only state of man is one of continuous warfare, which is the doctrine of Hobbes, and considering the political equilibrium as a system for the natural conservation and progress of states—the product of the equilibrium of their forces or the balance of power—springing from the necessity of preventing the abusive predominance of one of them and even of several that border upon each other, we purpose to inquire as to how far airships may contribute to this equilibrium.

We do not know to what extent the perfection of these apparatus will go, but the progress of science has made them, thanks to new inventions and experi-

ments prompted by the demands of the present European conflagration, terrible machines of war, whose number and dimensions may, of themselves alone, mean an upsetting of the political equilibrium of the powers of states. In no other wise arose the suspicions of the nations in the actual struggle, when they had as the principal sign of the rupture of the armed peace, the advance made in all kinds of weapons, among which we include the inventions of Zeppelin in constructing airships. These machines then, so powerful in war, according to their number and construction, may be an evidence of the preponderating power of a state, of its warlike preparation and of the tendencies to conquest which it cherishes in its bosom, and they are instruments which, in relation to the political equilibrium, demonstrate once more that it may be overthrown, and that this famous equilibrium, this patch of diplomatic court-plaster, as the Marquis de Olivart calls it, since it has no reality except when it is begun to be exercised by a state in its legitimate defense, possesses in airplanes a powerful factor which demonstrates it to have been reduced to the category of an amiable utopia.

Airships and the natural equality of states.—If the natural equality of states, the product of their juridical personality, without consideration of individual inequalities, had been respected and upheld by them all, the principal foundation of the political equilibrium would have been laid; but, because of the different historical development of the nations, together with that inequality which may be called specific, there exists an individual inequality, as a consequence of a diversity in the physical, intellectual, economic, military and moral progress and civilization of the several nations. The equality of rights, which, in the phrase of Romagnosi, is the equal protection of natural inequalities, has been demonstrated by the history of international law to be a mere expression of the ideas of what is just and what is unjust rooted in the public conscience of civilized humanity, an expression that unfortunately has been disregarded in the ardor of human ambitions. Among the elements that

may serve to mark the individual inequality of states, entitling them to a difference of consideration in the concert of the *Magna Civitas*, is precisely aerial predominance. If, as Fiore affirms, the enjoyment of certain rights of equality requires certain definite conditions in states, although the lack of airships does not cause those that do not possess them to fall within the category of barbarian humanity, the possession of them may, in practice, guarantee the right of theoretical equality that belongs to them in virtue of their specific character. Let it be observed, otherwise, that a military power stronger than the one that existed in Serbia would have abated the demands of the ultimatum of Austria against her, after the crime of Sarajevo. Perhaps then the European conflagration would not have acquired the present magnitude, and international law would not have had a real existence in the air.

Second Disquisition

We have examined thus far the preliminaries of international aerial law. We shall now enter into the study of a theme of vital importance in this law. We shall elaborate our opinions apart from all *a priori* judgment.

1. Is the air susceptible of ownership?
2. Who may be the owner of the air?
3. If any one may be its owner, what kind of ownership may he exercise?
4. Is there an aerial zone?

1. Is the air susceptible of ownership?

—For a man or a state to desire to have property in anything, it is necessary that it possess some value; the air, under certain conditions, has value; therefore the air may be held in ownership by man or by the state. The first proposition is not difficult of proof, but, in order to supply proof, a clear conception of value is necessary. Value is neither purely subjective nor purely objective, but it is in part subjective and in part objective. In political economy, it is proven that value is not the utility or the labor involved: value is, as the eminent sociologist Teodoro Rodríguez says: "The result of a man's desire for a thing, and its capacity to

serve as a means for the realization of some human aim," or, as he says, in an exact mathematical expression: "It is a function of two variables: human desires and the capacity of things for accomplishing man's purpose." We wish to possess a thing that satisfies one of man's necessities: the desire appertains to man: the capacity must be in the thing. If a thing does not satisfy any human end, it has no value; nor yet if man does not desire it. According to this, the first affirmation is clear: for a man to desire to have the ownership of anything, it is necessary that it have value, or what is the same, that it be desirable, which constitutes the subjective element; and that it be capable of supplying a human end, which constitutes the objective element. What we say of man is applicable to the state, as subject to economic necessity.

We pass to the proof of the second affirmation: the air under certain conditions has value. This is the principal argument of this theory. Until now publicists have proclaimed, as an evident principle, that the air is wanting in value. Why have they? Not without reason: the air is inexhaustible; its capacity for satisfying the needs of respiration can never be exhausted; the respiration of men in general is satisfied; only those who desire to commit suicide by asphyxiation or corpses do not enjoy this benefit. Therefore there is no interchange between the two valuables, the desire to breathe and the ownership of the air to satisfy the need for respiration; these factors do not vary, the one with relation to the other; they are on the same level: all desire inexhaustible air, and all satisfy their desire. These ideas are without doubt the ones that have induced the publicists to affirm that the air is lacking in value.

Is it true that, in their relation to each other, there has been no variation toward each other on the part of the two factors: the desire for the air and the capacity of the air for satisfying our needs? If these two factors of the mathematical expression are two variables, the air has an economic value. In fact, in political economy, it is established that there is an abstract or general value, and a concrete or particular

value, to which, as to all kinds of values, is applicable the definition we have adopted. Abstract or general value is that which a thing has for the generality of man; concrete or particular, that which a thing has in determinate conditions. Let us take an example from the same economist Rodríguez:

The air, like everything that is inexhaustible, is wanting in value, as it is not desired by anybody, since no one desires what he possesses and has at his disposal in a superabundant quantity to such an extent that he can never be in want of it. If, on account of special or extraordinary circumstances, one or several individuals should be in want of it, for example, in the case of being inclosed in a small receptacle in which, by breathing, the air were being consumed, or on a day of asphyxiating heat, in the middle of a desert, the air should begin to be desirable and have value, under these circumstances, those interested would pay very well for it, and if it should become necessary to them for the preservation of life, they would desire it with such vehemence that they would give all they possess for a few cubic meters of it. It is clear that the value would here be particular and circumstantial, because of its being desired only by particular persons and under exceptional conditions.

Peculiar and extraordinary also are the circumstances, in our opinion, by which an extraordinary and particular value has been given to the air through the increasing progress of aviation, and which does not permit states to grant an unlimited and unrestricted use of their zone of air without jeopardizing their supreme and inalienable rights, that is to say, equality, sovereignty, independence. If the use of the aerial zone of every nation were always innocent by any kind of airship, the circumstance that gives to the air a concrete value would not present itself; but, inasmuch as the accumulation of airships effected by states may tend to upset the political equilibrium, as we have demonstrated, because these machines of war may make attack upon the sovereignty and independence of nations, thus fostering the spirit of conquest by means of espionage and the discharge of projectiles—espionage even during peace, and projectiles during war—the air zone of states may not be at the disposal of any of them. The capacity of the air for satisfying human necessities has been maintained as it was, but the desire for the possession of the respective zone of air, to the exclusion of other states from the use of it, has sprung up at present for each of the

interested nations; and this circumstance has imparted a particular value to the air, and justified a certain kind of dominion over it on the part of each of the states that enjoys the benefits of international law.

It has been demonstrated then that the air is susceptible of ownership.

Animal respiration was never endangered and therefore value was never given to the element that has generally satisfied it; but now it is no longer a question of respiration: the supreme rights of nations are those that would be in perpetual danger, if the air were for the use of all. It is preferable that the population of a state perish by asphyxiation rather than that by reason of not having the dominion over its respective zone of air, it should die in the clutches of conquest, which now disguises itself under the name reprisals or indemnities of war.

2. Who may be the owner of the air?

—Men, moral agents, juridical persons, among whom the state is included, may be the subjects of law. The right of men to ownership is founded on a need of being maintained in a state of natural independence, each of them in respect of the other, and in the use of things jointly in some industry or work. The air may not be the object of individual ownership, except when it might become too scarce for the physical preservation of man, an extraordinary supposition in which, as we have seen, the air would have an exceptional value. This is not common, and thus the inexhaustible air is under the dominion of all men, because, by the very reason of being inexhaustible, no one has a private interest in appropriating it to himself; but not all the other subjects of law that we have indicated are in a similar situation, and therefore the right which the individual man does not possess may be possessed by the juridical person called the state.

Let the following serve as an example: the individual may not impose the penalty of death, but the state may impose it (I do not say that it ought to impose it). Man may not be the owner of the air, except in an extraordinary case, in which, because of the scarcity of this element, he

would pay very high for it: not so with the state. It must make use of its zone of air, as has been said, in order to satisfy one of its most constant necessities, that of maintaining its independence and sovereignty; and it therefore has the right to exclude other states from the unrestricted use of this zone, and also that of permitting such a use only under definite conditions. Inasmuch as the needs that explain and justify the dominion of the air are of an exclusively political character, the possessor of this right ought only to be the state, not a private individual, for whom, according to the language of the expounders, the air is wanting in value from being inexhaustible.

3. If the state ought to be the owner, what kind of ownership ought it to exercise?—There are two kinds of ownership: civil ownership and political ownership.

Civil ownership is that exercised by private individuals in goods and lands, in corporeal and incorporeal things, in short, in all that which forms the private patrimony of partners. The state, a juridical person, and subject to economic necessities, is able to enjoy ownership in a manner identical with that of persons, but this is not its characteristic ownership. As affirmed by political law, the intimate and necessary relation between the representative state and its physical basis constituted by its territory, the faculty of juridical control that belongs to the state, in what has to do with civil ownership, gives rise to political ownership, rule or eminent domain—for authors call it in all these different ways. Such ownership, denied by some, is that which in the state, as the depository unity of sovereignty, has in the territory which forms its physical basis, not, indeed, to dispose of it, like private persons with the *jus utendi, fruendi et abutendi*, because such a right would be wanting in title upon which to base itself, and would put in perpetual doubt the right of private property, but it consists in the right that the state has to make respecting the territory over which its sovereignty extends, and to exercise juridical control over private property. It is,

in short, one of the several extraordinary positions in which the state is placed in respect of property.

According to this, the ownership of the state in the air is not and can not be a civil ownership, that is, it can not treat it, as a partner can his private property, making it his own, for example, by any of the several means of acquiring rights, means recognized by the civil code; or disposing of it with entire liberty, as long as it does not prejudice the rights of others; or destroying it. The state enters into possession of its air zone simultaneously with its occupation of its territory; or it might be said that it occupies the air in the zone that corresponds to its territory, and that this occupancy, which is of a special character, is the first title to political ownership that every state may by right attribute to itself in the air.

This ownership of which we are treating is analogous to the eminent demand or power which each nation has over its own territory, not that which it acquires by any means recognized in positive law, since it is an ownership prior to all legislation and concerns the existence of the state; and the state in order to perfect its action and its very existence must constitute itself with this political ownership of the air, without which it could not defend itself, or what is the same, it could not maintain its sovereignty and independence or develop freely its action. Yet more: if we have set forth that only over something that has value may one exercise ownership, and that the air is inexhaustible and serves all the inhabitants of the earth indefinitely; and if what gives to the air a practical value, the source of the right of ownership is merely a necessity of an international political character—the national defense—it is clear that the ownership to which we allude can be only a political ownership. Civilly the air belongs to all, and no necessity arises for excluding any one from the enjoyment of it under ordinary circumstances. Politically, the state must have its air zone, and it may exclude other states from the enjoyment of it, or it may grant permission under exceptional conditions only, be-

cause otherwise, it would prejudice the inalienable rights attached to sovereignty.

4. Is there an aërial zone?—Without any doubt, this zone is determined by all the quantity of air that exists above the territory of a state, and it ought to have as its bounds the same as those of its territory. An imaginary perpendicular from each of the points that form the boundary lines of the territory, a perpendicular traced upward, would be the unit that might constitute the air zone of each state. This zone will be composed then of all the air comprised within the sum of the perpendiculars erected from the boundary lines of the territory of the state. This is a theoretical definition of the air zone, and, as may be easily inferred, we do not overlook the difficulties that would arise in the practical determination of it, since the territorial bounds are natural and artificial. As the territory is bounded by the adjacent seas, gulfs, bays, straits, channels, rivers, each of them, because of its geographical situation, may pertain to separate states. Besides, inasmuch as the artificial bounds are imaginary lines, conventional marks—edifices, bridges, fences, ditches, columns—the states, by means of boundary commissions, would have to indicate those of their air zones. In the case of the natural bounds, they would be from the conventional marks fixed by the straits, channels, rivers, roads, mountains, etc.; and in the case of the artificial bounds, by an imaginary line from a perpendicular traced from each of the points that form it: the bridges, edifices, ditches, inclosures, columns. It is evident that it is very easy to go beyond an imaginary boundary.

This covers the chief point of international aërial law, that is, the ownership of the air. We have based our arguments, as may have been seen, principally upon the economic theory of value as applied to the public ownership of the air.

Means of acquiring the political ownership of the air.—The means of acquiring property recognized by civil law and accepted by international law are: occupation; treaty, followed by tradition; and

what we might call accessory means, that is, the prescription that comes with occupation and the accession that succeeds property. To these means, in international law, are added those of war and conquest, which, particularly when they are attempted and effected by mere ambition, are means condemned by reason and morality: a condemnation always latent in the public conscience of the civilized world, and manifested in the form of reaction and protest against the states that dream of universal empire and against absolute monarchs who, in their insane delirium, undertake to acquire it by reprobated means.

According to our opinion, the first right to the political ownership of this air zone on the part of states is based upon occupation. This has the characteristic of being the most primitive and natural means of acquiring ownership, so that, although it is the act of a party with an end in view, this end is more simultaneous with the act than that of any of the other civil means of acquiring ownership. We say the party and not the man, because it is known that not only may a man take possession of a thing to acquire it, but also every party of a rational nature. *Party* not only applies to man, but also to persons, juridical persons and others. To occupy, with the intent to become an owner, anything that belongs to no one, is already to be the owner of it. We have laid stress on this virtual simultaneousness of cause and effect for the purpose of claiming that a state occupies its air zone.

It is true that public ownership is for a state the result of its juridical nature, as having jurisdiction over private ownership, which belongs to civil society, and of its peculiar character as a state. In this sense, it is not necessary to discuss occupation as a means of acquiring political ownership; because it would be to put in the relation of means to end things of such a nature that one of them could not be subordinated to the other, that is, occupation, which is a means of acquiring civil rights, and political ownership, which is the result of other factors.

In treating, however, of the occupation

of the air on the part of a state, as a means of acquiring the political ownership of it, there exists the relation of means to end, that is, of occupying in order to acquire, because in this case the political ownership of the air is not, indeed, the result of the same factors that give rise to the state's right of eminent domain over its own territory; therefore it is no longer a result that prevents its relation of end to the means of occupation; but, on the contrary, the factor of the juridical disposition of the individual property of the air being rejected, which to-day is impossible, the right of the political ownership of the air is not, and can not be, other than simple occupation. By this means is acquired the ownership of the things that do not belong to any one, and the zone of the air, before being the state's to which it belongs, truly belongs to no one, and each state owns it because it occupies it with *animus domini*, with intent to own.

This does not prevent the acquisition of ownership on the part of any state of other zones of air adjacent to the territories which it may acquire by one of the means of acquisition already described; if it possesses itself of territory by prescription, by accession, by treaty; by means of any of these means it would also have the political ownership of the corresponding air zones. If, by ambitious conquest, one nation should seek to take possession of the territory of another and of the corresponding air zone, international law would not sanction this abuse of power, and well might justice desire that the invaded territory were the platform of a great neumatic bell where the invaders would perish by asphyxiation.

AN HISTORICAL RÉSUMÉ OF AÉRIAL NAVIGATION

Division.—Aërial navigation is divided into two principal parts: aviation and aërostation. Aërostation has had a speculative period, a scientific period and a period of application. Aviation, in addition to these three periods, has had a legendary period.¹ In the speculative period of aërostation we ought to cite the

names of the first discoverers of the theoretical principle on which it is based. If it were proved that the "pigeon" constructed by Archytas of Tarentum flew by the rarefaction of the air inside, that illustrious Greek must have been the inventor of "the lighter than air" method, which is the basis of aërostation.

Coming down to the more modern times of the speculative period and to the geniuses who explain with clearness the theoretical principles of aërostation, we ought to mention the names of Cyrano de Bergerac and his work: *Journey to the Moon and to the States of the Sun*;² the able physicist, P. Lana; Guzmão, the true inventor of aërostatic balloons, as is proven by a description of his apparatus found in the archives of the university of Coimbra; Joseph Galien; the English Tiberius Caballo; and, finally, of famous experimenters, among which stand out the names of the brothers Mongolfier, the physicist Charles, Pilatre de Rozier and Arlandes Blanchard.

About the same time as the ascensions of the Mongolfiers, and when there had appeared in the world the philosophy of Rousseau and Voltaire, General Meusnier, then a simple lieutenant, initiated the scientific period of aërostation, in a work presented to the Académie des Sciences of Paris, entitled: *Mémoire sur l'équilibre des machines aërostatiques*. In this work, the famous soldier established, according to the statement of the engineer José Nicolás Besio Moreno, "the fundamental laws of static sustentation and the general principles of dirigible aërostation." A member of the French academy, Meusnier, presented several memorials upon questions of this kind. In this period ought to be mentioned the numerous assertions verified by amateurs of different nationalities with free balloons and captive balloons.

In the applicative period of aërostation, we have come to the present system of the dirigibles, in which can be made only modifications of slight importance, rather than genuine inventions. The names that

²Thus given in the Spanish original: the author doubtless refers to Bergerac's *Histoire comique des états et empire de la lune* and *Histoire comique des états et des empires du soleil*.—THE EDITOR.

¹We adopt the classification given by the señor engineer Nicolás Besio Moreno.

stand out principally, in the period of application, on account of their work, exclusively in the perfecting of dirigibles, are the same Meusnier; Giffard, who for the first time applied motive power to a balloon; Dupuy de Lome; Captains Quenard and Crebs, by means of their famous balloon *La France*; Santos Dumont, whose work is rather one of propaganda than of true invention; and, finally, Count von Zeppelin.

Aviation.—History.—We said that aviation had the same periods and, besides, a legendary period.

In the legendary period of aviation, occurs the curious fact that in the mythologies there appears, even though it be the creation of fancy, the poetic aspiration of humanity to achieve flight. Ovid tells us of the mythological flight of the prisoners of Crete, in which Daedalus acquires fame, hieing him on his wings of wax, and with his soft and pleasing flight, to the land of his dreams. In the Indian legend, Anonman flies under the admonition of the wise Jambaranta. Iceland, Arabia and the Caroline islands also present cases of these fantastic flights.

In the field of history also and within the period described, tradition brings us again the name of Architas of Tarentum; next, that of Archytas Pythagoras, the inventor of the screw, the pulley and the kite, according to the opinion of Landelle, three instruments from the union of which have resulted the most advanced mechanism of aviation. Simon Magus also flies, we know not by what means, and at the exigencies of the tyrant Nero. A thousand years later, the English monk Malmesbury cast himself into the air from the height of the belfry of Saint Marks, with an unfortunate result; Giovanni Battista Dante sustained himself in the air with well balanced wings; and Regio Montanno constructed his magnificent flying toys: metallic flies and eagles that flew for a very short distance in the air.

The speculative period of aviation has its most complete representative in Leonardo da Vinci, "mathematician, physicist, engineer, philosopher, poet, painter, sculptor and architect . . . the most per-

fect specimen of Nietzsche's superman," according to Besio Moreno. Da Vinci worked out, in the fifteenth century, the ascension propeller; he invented the parachute; he conceived a flying machine with beating wings; and he made several models of the apparatus called "helicoptero." The ideas of da Vinci were amplified and explained at that period by other thinkers, among whom we mention the immortal Newton. The name of George Cayley, with his series of articles in which he described airplanes, and of Alphonse Penaud, in France, complete the scientific period of aviation. Others figure beside them, although their labors did not achieve the degree of usefulness obtained by the admirable works of Cayley. In the period of application appears the name of the untiring experimenter Lilienthal, who left numerous disciples and continuators. The name of Pilcher; Chanute, a Yankee engineer; Herring (1899); the Wrights, American aviators; Santos Dumont (1906); and others, down to our days, until aërial navigation by means of machines of this kind has come to constitute a basis for new and brilliant studies in international law.

Freedom in aërial navigation.—We have established, with what we believe to be well founded reasoning, the political ownership of the air, and we desire now to inquire whether there be any ground upon which states, in the use of their liberty, may proclaim the freedom of the air, in a manner similar to that in which they have proclaimed the freedom of the seas. Reasons of economic predominance and of reprisals of war induced some states to declare the sea, or at least a certain extent of it, to be outside the free zone of ships; but, in treating of the use of the air, similar reasons do not militate in favor of freedom of navigation, above all, in what concerns the commercial predominance of nations. Airships do not play a part in the commerce of the world in so decisive a manner as sea craft, because the present state of their construction does not permit it. Even so, however, as the closed sea is condemned by the generality of writers, the

closed air, if the expression may serve as a contrast with the freedom of the air, may be condemned also, for the same reasons that justify the condemnation of the closed sea. Consequently states may engage to respect the innocent use of their respective zones of air. Let us note a difference, however: the principle of the political ownership of the air subsists, but nations may freely make contract for its free use, or they may exclude other states from this use; while, on the other hand, the high sea is free, and states may not with just cause allege any title in it. The reason is this: the free sea is a place of necessary transit for the nations, a transit to which they have a right, for they use it for trade; and they have a right to trade, because they must exist and must perfect themselves. These rights render it impossible for a state justly to occupy the free sea, besides the fact that it would be impossible for it to comply with the conditions of possession. In case of attempting it therefore, occupation would be illegal and possession almost impossible.

It is not so with the air: every state occupies its air zone and has ownership in it by just title: the title of occupation. It may therefore, as it may see fit, grant or deny the freedom of its air, and, in case it grant it, establish the rules that shall determine the nationality of the airship. It stands to reason that every

nation would punish acts of piracy committed by airships. This realm, in conclusion, must be dominated by the principle that each nation, in making use of its right to enter into engagements, ought not to refuse a benefit, when to grant it would not entail any evil consequences.

Aërial jurisprudence.—The laws of a state that apply in its territory, hold also in its respective air zone. If the time should come when airships would be more perfect than they are at present, there might well exist airships of war and others that would be simply merchant airships. Airships of war, the same as sea vessels of war, would enjoy extra-territoriality, a privilege based upon respect for the sovereignty and independence of states. The faculty of administering justice, pertaining to the tribunals of every nation, would then be extended to airships, according to the analogous principles that govern this subject in respect of sea vessels. At the present time airships have only an exceptional importance because of what concerns the laws of war.

We have treated of international aërial law from the static point of view; the laws of war form a dynamic part of this kind of law, and it will serve as material for later development.



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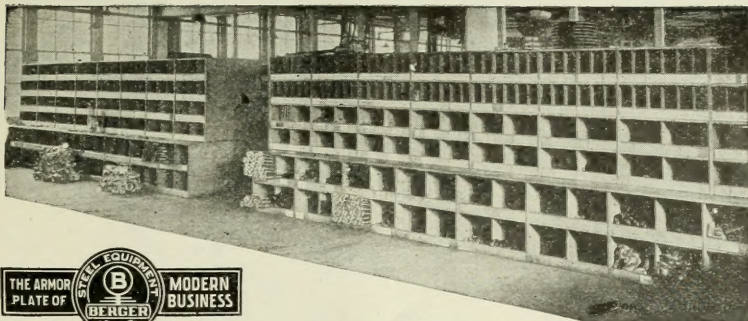
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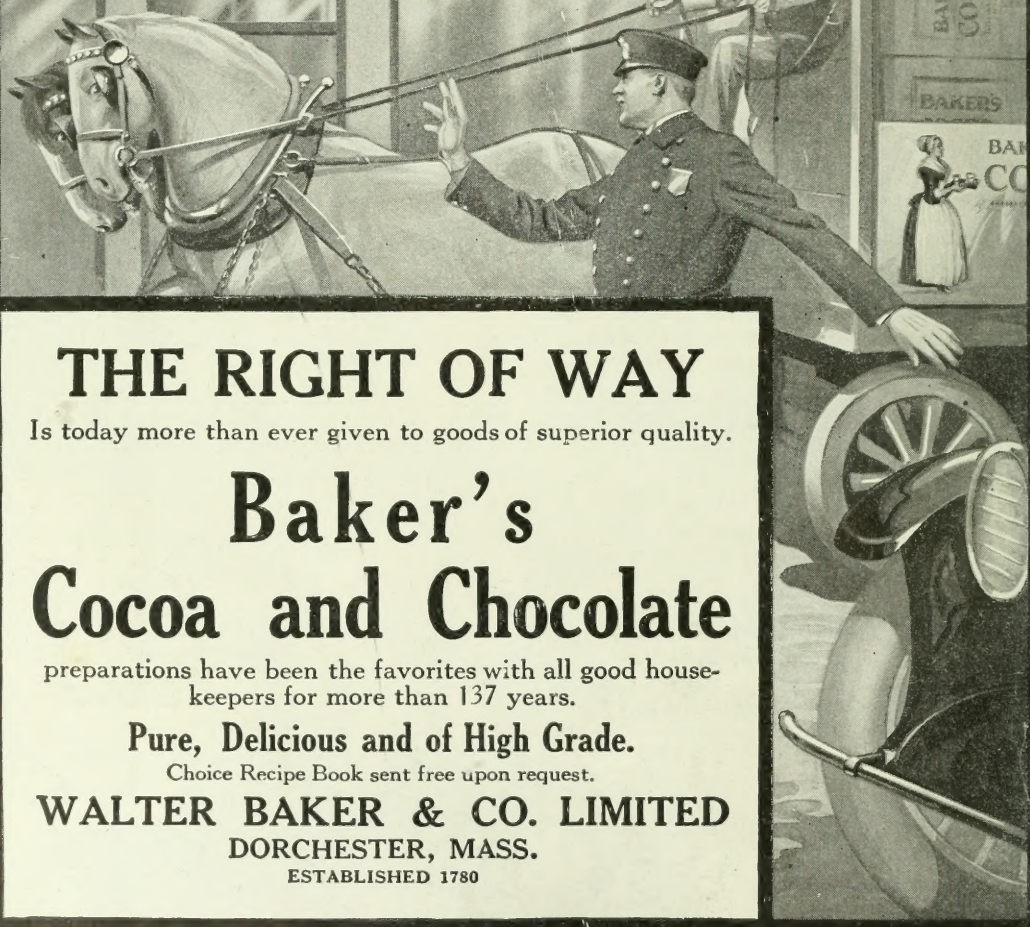
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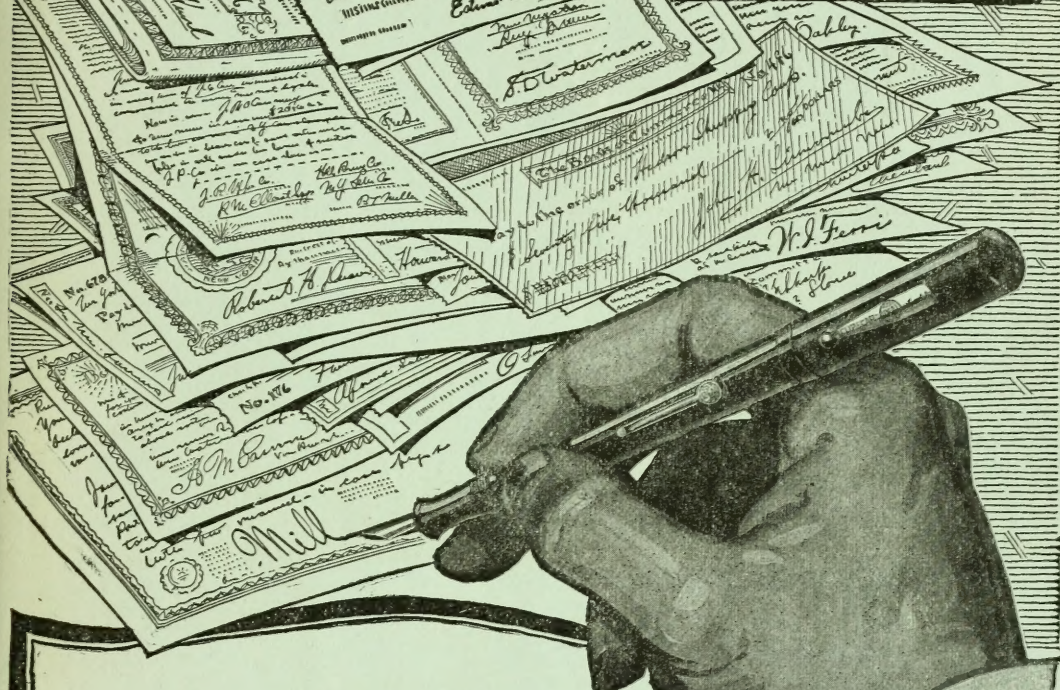
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